

# HISTORY SCOTLAND,

From the year 1423. until the year 1542.

CONTAINING

The LIVES and REIGNS

#### JAMES

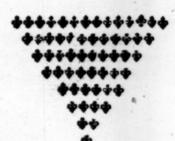
The I. the III. the IV. the V.

With several

#### Memorials of State,

During the Reigns of James VI. & Charls I.

By WILLIAM DRUMMOND of Hauthornden.



LONDON,

Printed by Henry Hills, for Rich. Tomlins and himself, and are to be sold at their houses near Py-Corner.

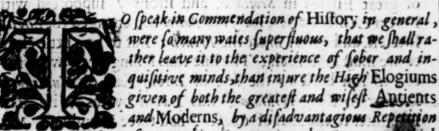
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on of the H. of that name) who when he a feet years beched loft book his wite appearables hopeful and numerous re, nothing remaining of the faving a Cirl to his Daugh-

## Drugge to Hageman all of results. The Nobelly companies of the hinds are the results and the hinds are the hinds to demand the Daughter Grandall To Orlinge, as hext Heir of the



of them. And for to say any thing concerning the Countrey, wich was the Scene of the actions here represented, we conceive it needless and impropers in regard we are immured by one Sea, breath one air, speak one Tongue, and now closed together by an happy Coalition under one Government.

The proper work therefore is to offer what can be said of the History and the Auchor, and so dismiss the Reader to the Entertainment of the Book is solf. For his manner of Writing, though he treat of this gest that are rather many than great, and troublesome than glorious set he hath brought so much of the main together, as it may be not destly said, none of that Nation hath done before him: And for his way of handling it he hath sufficiently made it appear how conversant he was with the Writings of Renerable Antiquity, and how generally he hath constant them by an happy instations, for the purity of his Language is much about that Dialect he writ in; his Descriptions lively and full, his Narnations clear and partinent, his Orations E-legaents and fit for the persons that speak (for the since Livys me

was never accounted Crime in an Historian) and his Reflections folid and mature; so that it cannot be enspected that these leaves can be thrused over without as much pleasure in profit, specially frequently meeting with so many Clarice and Trophies of our Ancestours, get because either of these may a little abate, in respect the beginning (ceme a listle abrupt and precipitious (the Author possibly dying before be could prepare an Apparatus or Introduction, we have taken the paint, out of other Records of that Nation, to draw a brief Representation of lame passages recollary to be foreknown.

The direct Royal Line of Scotland failing in Alexander III. (Son of the II. of that name) who when he a few years before had loft both his wife, and all his hopeful and numerous iffue, nothing remaining of it, faving a Girl to his Daughter, brought to Hungonan King of Norway. The Nobility hereupon meet at score, and put the Kingdom into the hands of fix Persons. Edward of England sends to demand the Daughter Grandchild in marriage, as next Heir of the Crown. This was agreed unto, Embaffadours fent for her, but the death of the Lady frustrated all that Negotiation. The death of this Margarite ( fo was the called ) was the firebrand that fet England on fire, and had almost destroyed Scotland; For two Competitors declared themselves both powerful, and of great Estates in Scotland, and strongly supported with Forein Confederacies, for John Baliol had engaged the English Interest, and Robert Bruce the French: But to be a little clear er we must look back; The line thus failing they were forced to run back to the line of David Earl of Huntington Brother to King William; this David by his Wife Mand Daughter to the Earl of Chefter, had three Daughters, Momarried to Allan of Galloway, the second to Robert Brace firnamed the Noble, the third to Henry Hastings Earl of Huntington, who made no claim. Now thus it stood, Dornagil ( the Wife of Baliol ) claim'd it as grandchild by the Eldeff Daughter, and Bruce as great Grandchild by the second, faying, It was not fit that Daughters should inherit when there were Sons to represent the Ancestor; Balial he was neerer, as being in the second degree, and the other but in the third: The Controverse growing high and boysterous, and the Power and Interests of both parties at home being equally formidable and dangerous, they refolved to refer it to King Edward, who comming to Berwick and calling Lawyers to his Afliftance, presents all Equity, but rail'd up eight other petty Compeniors, the better to weakon the claim of the other two, and so handled the business whilst the Lawyers were flowly confulting, that ( Bruce having refused to accept the Crown in Homage and Tribute from England) he decla-

#### to the Reader.

red (upon his acceptance of those conditions) FOHN BA-LIOL to be King, who was Crowned at Stone. But foon after an appeal being made against him to King Babard by Macduff Earl of Fife, and he refuling to rife from the Seat where he fate to answer, but being intorced by the King so to do, became so aliened in his affections from the Enelish. that a new quarrel breaking our between the Present and the English, and both by their Embassadours Courting the Storrift Amity, it was resolved to adhere to the French, and renounce the Homage to Empland, as obtained by Prand and Force, Edward enraged at this I having obtained a Truce for fome few Moneths with the Brench haffailts Berwick by Sea, but with fome lofs, which enflumes him the more, furnmens Baliel, who refules, profess it to Bruce, takes Berwick by Stratagem, enters Scorland, masters the Country, takes Edenburgh and Stentin, and forces Baltol to a furrender at Forfor, and sends him Prisoner to Landon, whicher himself returns, baying made most of the Nobility do Homige, and left the Earl of Surrey his Deputy. Ashol foon after is fent into Frame leaving his Son Edward as Hostage for his fidelity. Edward fets fail for France, the Stors rife and make fome little Incursions into the Borders, But about this time Sit William Walles arose, who to his Honour did so Heroically defend his Countrey in her weakest condition, as made it easily appear, if he had had as happy a fortune to advance, as he had a milerable to relieve, he might have been remembred for as great a man as ever was in any age, for having upon a quarrel flain a young English Gentleman, and enforced to lark in the Hills for the fafety of his life, he became inured hardness, that awaking his natural Courage, he because Head of all the Male-contents, and filled both the Kingdoms with his Reputation and Terror, and behaving himself according to expectation, glean'd up to a rumultuary Army, and (the Nobility being either floathful or cowardly) commanded as Baliels Vice-Roy, Thus after fome little skirmithes, he reduced all beyond the Forth, took Dundee, Aberdeen, and other places, when there arrived rumour of an English Army, which he was not willing to dispute with, but upon his own Terms. Edward that had fortified all the Considerable places, and kept the chiefest of the Nobles as Honourable Prisoners in England, had with-drawn his Army, as thinking all focure, fends the Lord Henry Percey with strong afficience to join with his Officers there (for he had heard of the Reputation of Wallar) who endervouring to pass the Forth, the Bridge breaking, received a confiderable loss, which gave walker time to reduce the rest of the Countrey :

Gountrey, Wallas then enters England, and for some time gravages, and returns without opposition; and this Fame of his, brought upon him the Envy of the Noblemen, and brought Edward with an Army hastily gathered together at of Stainmers, from whence after looking upon one another they departed without a Blow; from whence Wallas came to be rumoured as affecting the Royalty, and brought him fuch envy among the Bruces and Cumins, that they were resolved by any means to ruin him, as disdaining that the fortune of the Kingdom should rely on so mean a person. But the English entring Stotland again with a creat Army, and finding the Soots disposed under three Leaders ( who among themselves disputed Priority of Command) marcht up to them, where they found the Cumins (who commanded one Brigade) depart without opposition; The Stuarts (who had another) being all cut to pieces, and Wallas (who haid the third) forced to retire to the River Caroon. Thus loft Wallas his title & formal Army, whilst with a Predatory Army he never left to infest the English, whilf Edward regained the lost places; but the Scots having in vain endeavoured Truce or Mediation, were refolved to put all upon the Dy; and made a general infurrection, to oppose which King Edward sent Ralph Convers, with a considerable Army to reduce the revolted places, and make an end of the War, but they, by a Triple Victory, were routed at Rossin the 10. of March 1302. Edward stung with this, makes an other Entry, in which Wallas perpetually infested him; and again reduces the Countrey, all fivearing allegiance at Saint Andrews, but Walles, who returned into the High-Lands. and changing the Laws, carrying away all Records, and ming with all the Marks of any absolute Conquerour, and among other Monuments the Stone called Facobs Stone, in which our Kings have been fince usually Crowned. But there kindled another flame, for Robert Bruce, son of the other, and Fohn Cumin, Cosen German of Fohn Baliol, sirnamed the Red, wearied by the delaies and unperformed promifes of the King, though Competitors, overcame their mutual jealouties, and closed together, on condition that Bruce should have the Kingdom, and Cumin all Bruces lands; which agreement notwithstanding, Cumin was after said to have communicated to Edward; Bruce hath notice, and, by shooing his horses backward, escapes, and arriving at his Castle at Lake Laban, meets with Cumins Letters advising to cut him off, upon which he hastens to S. Fohnstons, and after exprobating his infidelity leaves him, in the Franciscan Monastery, stabb'd as dead , and after stabb'd him out-right, with his brother Robert. About the same time Wallas was betrayed about Glasgow, carryed up

1302.

1305.

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#### to the Reader.

to London, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his limbs hung

up in the most eminent places.

And here (so digress a little) from these cruel carnages, might naturally arise some pretty questions, as, Where allegiance and obedience begins and determins? who are properly Rebels, or Lawful Enemies? how far the faith of a Nation, or particular men, are concluded in the Oath of their Prince to a Foreiner? and what Limits Conquerours oneht to observe to Subjects, not naturally born for and how far they never. compacting, are oblig'd in the General Compact ? " But thefe be-"inematters proper for the Civilians, and fuch as cannot be include ded in the shortness of a Preface, or Rigor of an Epitome, we shall " dismiss at this Time without any further disquisition. Onely at the " present we will raise one Note from this Example of unfortunate "Courage, How apt great minds are, even out of false appearances of se good of their Countrey (the most powerful charm upon the bra-" vest spirits) to rush upon the most violent and dangerous efforts, " though it may be their Countrey, by a great deal of devastation and " blood, be made a loser by it; and some Territories are so seated, that " it is the more happy for them to be under the shade and protection of "a greater and more powerful, than be left naked to their own wants, " and devastation of prevailing neighbours, under the Notion of "preserving an imaginary, Antient, and Notional Liberty, which once "launch into will prove no other than a willingness to shackles, and " an obstacle, and an obstinacy to the advancement of the Commodi-" ties of life.

"And again, let us observe what a strange Antiperistalis Oppression and Calamity will make in any people, how inconsiderable heads, meeting with an humour of jealousy, discontent and despair, swell into enormity, and become terrible to, nay oftentimes affront deci-

"timate force, whereas Nations wantoning in their delight and

" pleasures (like strong bodyes without Exercise) forget, and weaken themselves, whilest their strength insensibly transpires and vani-

" shes in the warmth of their fruitions.

But it is high time now to return unto

#### ROBERT BRUCE,

who having caused himself (after he had staied for the Popes absolution for the defiling the Monastery with the Murder of the Cumins) to be Crowned King at Scone, notwithstanding his Endeavours at first to strengthen himself, by the enmity of the Cumins, and timorousness of his own Followers, was routed by Edwards Lieutenants, and forced to the Hills, and for a long time lurkt in great misery, to the great ruin and slaughter of his Family and party, but making together some little force, took Currick and Inneress,

1306,

by furprifal, and by this means augmented his Train, and withstood the daring of Cumin Earl of Bughan, who withstood him with a Considerable strength of English and Scotish torces, and though a Treaty were defired, would not comply, growing numerous by the accession of other considerable persons. Edward the I, dying in an intended expedition thither, left it to Edward II. his Son, who hearing some troubles in France, failed thicker, and left behind him an Army, which notwithstanding Roberts though lick and forced to be held on horseback, defeated; this engaged Edward to another Immemorable Expedition, and gave Rebert time to take in the Remaining strengths; but the next year, and within two years after recovered the most considerable, and Edinburgh it self, and a little after, by means of his Brother Edward, Sterlin upon Conditions, Edward thereupon enters with a great Army, and many forein auxiliaries; But had a great defeat at Bannacks-burn, which occasioned the loss of Berwick, and Bruces confirmation in Parliament; the declaring of Edward (his Brother) to be heir, in case of Roberts want of Issue Male, as also making of him King of Ireland, at the request of some of the Inish, and though they furnished him with some forces for that attempt, yet in the Expedicion he and all his followers were cut to pieces. Some few years after were spent in light skirmishes and incursions, and Thomas Randolph obtained the battel called the White, and quieced the English. Robert, this time of Repose, conven'd the Nobles, intending to determine the rise of inheritances, which many men had unjustly usurped in the times of Rapine and Licence; This brooded a Conspiracy, which ng detected, a meeting was appointed at Persh, where, by the Conviction of their own Papers, many were executed, some pardon'd; but none drew more pitty from the Beholders than David Brechin, the Kings Sifters Son, whose acquaintance, not concurrence, with the Plot was only Criminal. " From whence we may consider, That to be a Traytor, is not actu-" ally to engage in Treason, but to concealit is to foment it: for if in "private Friendships it is infidelity not to reveal a danger to a friend, it holds stronger as to the Magistrate, who is not only our common Friend, but our Parent and Tutor; fince the feeds of all "Treasons (like them of Vegetables, lurking quietly, and arising " fruttfully ) being cunningly manured, do, by the Co-operation " of bad influences, grow up into poisons, and threaten destruction, "whereas the Sovereign Power, enlivening and peiroing all, cherishes the more Noble things, and only discovers the impersection of the meaner.

In the mean time a Legate comming from Rome, armed

with

with all the Thunderbolts of that See ( whose force, even that age had wit enough to discern) to threaten them into a peace with England, but missing of his Errand, the Scars followed him with an Army, and marcht as far as Stainmore. The K. of England, in revenge, raises an Army so potent and powerful, that it might be supposed they came for absolute victory, not uncertain hazard. Robert therefore (like a wife Captain) confidering that it was Stratagem not force that must preferve him fate from fo great a storm, caused all the Cattel to be carryed into the avious retreats of the Hills, left they might be ferviceable to the Enemy, who, confident of their strength, peirced Scotland, and endeavoured to draw him and his Forces out of their Holes: But having wasted all about sparing only Chnrches) and wanting Victuals, were forced to retire. Bruce, knowing this diforderly retreat, pursues them as far as Tork, and, by a great defeat, was Master of their Baggage, and some Considerable Prisoners; the great occasion of which was imputed to Sir Andrew Barcley, Earl of Carlifle, who was therefore degraded. This begat two Embassyes, one to the Papacy, for a Reconciliation to it, and the other to France, for a Renovation of the old League, both which were obtained with equal eafiness, with this addition to the latter, That the King of France should be Umpire in controversies concerning the Crown of Scotland. About these times (saies Excellent Buchanan ) the Family of the Hamiltons (fince fo great in Scotland, and pernicious to England) took their rife, one of them upon a Quarrel and murder of an English Gentleman flying to Robert for Protection, who gave him lands, which retain the name to this day; the Spenfers (upon whose account this quarrel arose) were soon after discomposed, and ruined, and Edward himself dethroned, and (as is said) murdered at Pontfratt Castle, by means of his wife, and Edward his Son succeeded, the III. of that name; Bruce in the mean time, composing himself to the cares of Peace, by Act of Parliament fettles the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon his Son (though a Child) and in case of his decease, to Robert Stuart his Grandchild by his Daughter, and for preventing any pretences of Balio! (being then old and miserable in France) a full release of all his Claim, but the active young Edward filling them with the terrour of a new Bruce, repaired the defects of his age, and travels, by fatituting Thomas, Randolph his Vice-Roy, whom, with Fames Donglas, he fent with a flying Army of Horse, into England, the better toelude the prevailing force they were to expect, and it happened accordingly, for after tedious Marches, and hardships on both fides, they parted without a stroke, saving onely that Dowglas

Denglas with two hundred Horse, beat up the Quarters of the English Camp, and cut (as is said) two Ropes of the Kings Tent, and made a good Retreat; this begat a Truce for three years, and afterwards (1328.) a dishonorable Concession in a Parliament at Southampton of all the Scotish privileges, and independencyes of that Crown ( for which some after smarted) with the Concession of some Counties, and Rendition of Monuments, the Scots paying thirty thousand Marks: Bruce finding himself wasted by age and toil, left the Tuition of the Nonage of his Son to Randolph and Dowglas, retiring himself to the Abby of Kilross, confirming the Settlement of the Kingdom upon his Son David (then 8 years old) and Stuart, as he had done before, leaving these three Counsells behind him (Illustrious Spirits that have long moved in great Orbs, being best measured, when they are falling below their Horizon.) I. Not to let any man folely command the Abnea. 2. Never to purall their Strength at one hazard with the English. 3. Never to make long Truces with them. The first being to be feared by their power at Sea. The fecond for the Fertility, Power and Numbers of the English. The third, to prevent the Enervation of a long Peace. Thus he dyed, leaving Charge with Donelas to convey his heart to the Holy Land ( whither himself had defigned an Expedition) but Denglas, affifting them of Arragen against the Savacens, was there cut to pieces: Thus ended the reign of Robert Bruces "A Prince that mounting the Throne over the Carcuffes of his necreft kindred, encountring with the greatest difficulties and calamities of a Country oppress by powerful and martial Enemies, bruvely fruggled mith the difadvantages, and left behind him the Character of a great Captain, and a practent Prince, and fuell an one m whose Reputation relies apon his single virtue, unlesse you will fay he had the assistance of the heads and hands of his Counfellors and Captains, yet eveninthe chasing of one, and the obeying the Other, it must be confest be war a man excellently squared out for Government, and a manthe most fit to arrest var Conquests in that Nation.

Tet, by the way, we find take up one Romark, How much the fortune and reputation of any people, depends upon the Conduct of their
Supreme Governour; and we cannot have better inflance, than by
reflecting upon the preceding History. Edward L. (worthily called
Count de Lion brought them in their greatest power upon their knees;
His Son (an effeminate and weak Prince, enchanted with Platteries,
and lost in Softmess) could not preserve an acquired Dominion, but
lost it with ignoming; His Son, for a time (which we must call his
pupillage of War, he did such wonders afterwards) was unsuccessful, and all this through the Opposition; Courage and Conduct of

one unfortunate person; And indeed, upon survey of all Histories, we shall find, that the ability and excellency of the Prince hath been the most powerful ascendent of the Genius of a Nation, and that the Governing mind of the World, when ever it determines any to glorious actions, raises up such Leaders, as by their wisdom, and example, may lead them to the performance of its own secret determinations.

And again, How infectious the example of a bad or weak Prince, which, like an unhappy contagion, perverts and infects the mainers of a people, and so much the more easily seduces them, by how much the mind of man is inclinable to understand better things, and pursue the worse, and most people are more easily emaseulated into Vice, than tutured into Virtue.

#### This Prince being gone to his long home,

His Son, succeeding, his Coronation was deferred till permission could be had from Rome to make the business more folemn. The first thing memorable in his reign was the suppression of a fort of Thieves, by Randolph, who (if you will believe the Sectifi Story) was foon after poissed by a Monk, yet bore it for as he eluded another invation, though he died foon after in the year 1331, the Government devolving to the Earl of Mar, in which he was scarce warm, when news was brought that Edward Baliol was feen in the Fryth with a Formidable Fleet; And it was upon this occasion, Lawrence Twine, 2 Fugitive Englishman, that had planted himself in Scotland, being for his lewd life excommunicated, flew the Bishop of Final, and used such inducements to Edward (Son of Fohn Baliel, formerly King) by the minority of the King, the raging discondents of the People and Exiles, the want of the Regents, Randolph and Dowelass, that he, knowing Edward prepared great Forces against Storland, perswaded him to imbarque in the Enterprize, and he made fo good a Party, that he landed at Kingkorn, and defeated Alexander Station, who made some opposition and marching to Perth, did, by a secret passage over the River, rout the Enemy, slay the most con-Aderable Commander, and take the Town, taking Prifoners also many of the best quality, so that growing name-- rous, by the accession of such as had a mind to share in his good and unex spected Fortune, he in the year 1332, caused himself to be Growned King at Sound, by the name of

But the party of the bruves not resting here, send him to Philip of France with his wife, and cheose and en Nursy, his Coufern, Regenquand making a party, after three Wondth's slege,

1331.

receiving the voluntary submission of the Countrey, among whom (so high was the Reputation of his Acquests) that A-

lexander Bruce, L. of Carid and Galloway, forfook his Kinfman, and submitted to the Conquerour, who, by this means, became so besorted with a contempt of the Enemy, and so neglected Discipline; which being known to the Vice-Roy. he sent a party of Horse under Archibald Dowglas, and others, who beat up his quarters, and routed them, himself escaping half naked, and his most considerable Friends slain Nobility hereupon flocking to the Party of the Bruces, they consult, and resolve, that Baliol acts but the King of England's Defigns, fortifie Berwick and the Borders, and standing in this posture of Defence, fent to K. Philip and David, to give them account of things. Nor were the English unwilling to take the Advantage of the Discord, he therefore protects Baliol, and under pretence of demanding Berwick, which was denyed, brings an Army against Scotland, besieges Berwick by Land & Sea, which to divert, Archibald Donglas, newly appointed Vice-Roy, makes an attempt upon the English, but was routed with great loss, in the year 1333, which occasioned the Rendition of the Town; Edward hereupon withdrawing into England leaves the reducement of Scotland to the care of Baliol and Edward Talbot, who gained it all except some few Strengths; Baliel (though disturbed with a controversie about the Lands of Fohn Monbray) surveys the Country, fortifies the Castle of Rothlay, narrowly pursues Robert Stuart (after King) who in a small bark escaped to the Garrison of Dumbarton, and after laies fiege to the Castle in the Lake Leven, which he left to the Management of Sir John Sterlin and others, but Sterlin going to a Fair at Dunfermling, the belieged let the Lake into his Trenches, and raised the siege. The English came in again with an Army, swept all, carryed Baliol home with them, and left Cumin Earl of Athol, Lieutenant of Scotland, who wasted all the Lands of the Stuarts. By this Robert Stuart unexpectedly breaks out, and being followed by the Cambells, takes the Castle of Botan, and having access of many

considerable persons, is made Vice-Roy, and forces Cumin to his party, and dispersing the War, called a Parliament at Perth, where nothing could be done by reason of the dissention of Cumin and Donglas. But the English enter with a great Army, and (though their Auxiliary Guelders were routed) take Perth, but their Fleet being harrast at Sea, were forced to recreat, and the rather in design of a French War; but some of the Nobles still standing out, the English landing in Murray-reduced all, and, leaving Baliol, return. Next year

1332.

#### to the Reader.

the English besieged Dunbar, and sent in two Parties under Talbot and Monford, which though they were both routed, yet the fiege continued; but the English having received loss by the valour of Robert Stuart, after fix moneths stay, being called into France, raised their siege; Murray in the mean time dying, Stuart was created Vice-Roy till the Return of David, and having the first year by the means of W. Dowglas, gained some petry Victories, did the next beliege Perth, which after four Moneths hay was reduced, and a little after Sterlin, and (by Stratagem) the Castle of Edinburgh; Alexander making a happy Expedition into Northumberland, and taking Roxburgh, and the Scors regaining all their ground, except Berwick. In the year 1342. David, after 9. years flay, returns, and after quieting of some diffentions, resolves an expedition into England, though diffwaded by his Council, by reason of want of Victuals, making John Randolph General, himself going incorpio, and for two Moneths together depopulated Northumberland, but after, declaring himself General, made a second Expedition, which met little opposition by reason of the diversion of the English strength in France, a third to as little purpole. A Peace for two years. was treated of, which David would not accept, without the consent of Philip of France, who having a great defeat given him by Edward, excited him, by all means, to an invafion, which his friendship perswaded him to (though things at home were not in Order) and having Marcht so far as the County of Durham, had his Army routed, and was there taken Prisoner; The English limits being enlarged as far as Cockburn, and all Scotland, in a manner, depopulated by the Plague and deadly fewds, yet by the encouragement of Fohn Son of Philip the French King, some were still making Incurions, and an unfuccefsful attempt on Berwick. time John of France was Prisoner to Edward, whom the Scots courted as full of Honour and Victory, for the delivery of their own, who (by the Mediation of the Pope) for a great fum of Money, was redeemed, and fer free, after eleven years Captivity, and at his Rerurn punished some of those who had deferted him at Durham, and endeavoured to remove the succession of the Crown, from Robert Stuart, to whom he was some years after reconciled. The last five years of his reign were spent in appealing domestick fewds, and are notable for a great inundation and plague, but things quieting in the year 1363, he retired into a Monastery, and declared (in cale of his decease) Edward, or his Son, for their King, This, whether it was caused by some former Oath, or from wearinels of War, or delign of quiet to Both Nations, which be

1337.

1339.

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ing universally disliked by the Estates it was like to breed a dissertion, which his wisdome closed up. All was now quiet but the Highlanders, whom he appealed by their mutual discords; when Fate in the 47. year of his age, the 39. of his Reign, came to Eternal Rest, in the Castle of Edinburgh, in the year 1370.

1370.

By this King and his competitor Baliol (who went out in the snuff) we may in part measure the interests and advantages of Princes; the one by the assistance of a Potent Neighbour did unexpected things, yet failed in Conduct and Management; the other, wanting neither spirit nor vigilancy, became a Captive and ineffectuall Prince; which may give us occasion to observe, That though Travel do best inrich the mind with variety of observation, yet it is not so successfull in Princes; for their Minds not being exempted from humane weakness, may draw in tinctures and prejudices not consisting with the humors of them they are to govern, and by knowing abroad grow strangers at home, neglecting to study the humor of the People they ore set over; the disquisition of which is certainly the greatest Mystery and Chain of Government: The People being an unruly Beast, easily led, impossible to be forc'd, and the Magick that so powerfully forces them, no other than a piercing, discerning, flattering, or eluding their Humour

This was Davids Fundamental fault, which, like Error in the first concoction, multiplied it self through the rest of his Reign. He was bred a Stranger, knew not the disposition of his people, met with troublesome Times, and a Formidable Enemy, and therefore he may very well be charged with three overlights; First, after three, not unfortunate, incursions into England, then imployed by France, not to rest there with his proportion of glory and prey: But secondly, By the allurement of the French King, and that upon a score of Friendship; whereas Friendships of Princes, and Private Men are different, the one being particular, the other diffusive and concerning Millions; besides, that Princes are to consider the interest of their States, not their private inclinations. And for the third, To make an invasion, when he left so high discontents in a turbulent people behind, besides those of his own, that by force, obligation or interest were devoted to a victorious Enemy, and assured of his own Countrey, was very imprudential, both in going to find out an Enemy, whose force he knew not, and leaving behind him Subjects, whose malice and force be under stood not.

But no more to disturb his ashes; Had he had another Countrey, another Enemy, another Education, and other Circumstances of Time, he might have been as glorious as any of his Predecessors, it is the more probable (though the Change of Time does often heighten and aggravate the Vices of Princes) there is nothing either Cruel or Vicious recorded of him. So that even in the severest sense we may

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#### to the Reader.

dismiss him with this Character, That he rather was unhappy than southful in his Government.

This mans eyes being for ever closed, the Nobility appointed

a meeting for the accepting of

ROBERT STUART

For their King, as he was formerly defigned, who appealed the diffention of the Earl Dowglas by marrying his Daughter to the Earls Son. His first two years were spent in making incursions upon the English; the Kings wife dying in the next year, he maries Elizabeth Moor his own Concubine, the better to legitimate the children he had by her, and them he honoured with Titles, and declared his Successors; two years after an attempt is made on Berwick, but in vain, and Talbots Expedition frustrated, but a Truce for three years was concluded; which being expired, little quarrels awoke again, and occasioned the Duke of Lancaster to be sent thither with a great Army and Navy, though not with the fame fortune at Sea as at Land, which occasioned the return of the Duke, who was purfued by some small depredations of William Dowglas, though his Son of the same name, and some others, during a Treaty, made an inroad as far as Newcastle. having affiftance from France, is forced to retire, especially upon the news of Richards (Grand-child and Successor to Edward the third,) marching with a great Army, fac'd the Scots with an unbloody bravery. The Scots defigning to befrege Roxburgh, but quarrelling with the French, it came to nothing; which occasioned so much diffention, that it arrived at this pass. That the French should pay for their plunder and be difmift their general remaining as hostage for their satisfaction; whilf William Dowelas (who had maried the Kings Daughter) makes an expedition into Ireland, plunders Kerlingford, and knowing his Father to be imployed against the English, hastens to his affistance. The attempt was in affront of Richard then struggling with Domestick difficulties; But they of Scotland being unable to live without War and Rapine, they were resolved to make a business of it, and because the King, and his eldest Son were infirm, came to choose (privately) the second for their Leader; but this being discovered by the English, they altered their Resolution, and refolved to divide themselves, one by the way of Bernick, the other of Carlifle, the former party led by Donglas gave a defeat to the Lord Percy, with the loss of his Life (the other not having the like Success) who impatiently fighting betore the comming up of the Bishop of Durham's Forces, lost his own and indangered the others. This happened in the year 1388, at Offerbara in Northumberland. The King being

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spent with age, makes Robert his second Son his Vice-Roy, this eldest being unactive) who to affront Peircey, that seemed to lessen the loss, led in an Army, but after facing returned with some little depredation. Soon after a Peace was mediated between the French and English, in which Robert; without consent of a Parliament, would not be comprized; But his doubts were all resolved by death in the year 1390, when he had lived 74, years, and reigned 19, being followed to the grave with such acts of Barbarism, as have been

frequent in that place.

He is a Prince we find little said of, as to his person, and possibly best to be considered in the Negative; We find many things done by his Captains, not by him; which notwithstanding we may rather attribute to the stirring and violent humour of that age; than either his age, want of Genius, or love of quiet; yet herein appears somewhat of his Character, that meeting with turbulent times, and a martial people, he met not with any Insurrections, and was a gainer; and though he did it by other hands, we must suppose that their Motions were directed by his Brain, that communicated Motion and Spirits unto them, since the Minds of Kings, like the first Mover, turn all about, yet are not perceived to move, and it was no humane wit said their hearts were unscruitable.

The same year his Eldest Son Fohn was called to succeed, who thinking that name ominous to Kings (and there wanted not examples) as of him of England, and him of France, and fancying somewhat of the felicity of the two former

Roberts, was crowned King by the name of

ROBERT the III.

This man being unactive, the weight of the Government rested upon his Brother Robert. The first seven years of his Reign past in a calm with England, by reason of two Truces, but not without some fierce fewds among his Subjects, one whereof was very memorable between Thomas Dunbar Earl of Murray, and Fames Lindsay Earl of Crawford, and was most high, insomuch that seeing the difficulty of reducing them, he resolved to make this proposition to them, That 300, of each fide, should try it by dint of Sword before the King, the conquered to be pardoned, and the Conquerour advanced; This being agreed on, a place was appointed on the Northlide of St. Fohnstons, but when they came to join battel, there was one of one fide missing, whom when his party could not supply, and none would relinguish the other, a Tradesman stept out, and for half a French Crown, and promise of maintenance for his life, filled up the company. The fight was furious, but none behaved himself more furiously than the Mercinary Champion, who they fay was the grea-

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#### to the Reader.

test cause of the Victory, for of his side there remained tengrievously wounded, the other party had but one left, who not being wounded, yet being unable to fustain the shock of the other, threw himself into the Tey and escaped. By this means the hercest of two Clanns being cut off, the remainder, being headless, were quiet. Two years after the King in Parliament made his two Son's Dukes, a title then first brought into Scotland. Next year Richard the second of England being forced to relign, Henry the fourth succeeded, in the beginning of whose reign, though the Truce was not ended, the feeds of War began to bloom out, and upon this occasion, George Earl of March had betroathed Elizabeth his Daughter to David the Kings eldeft Son: Archibald Earl of Dowglas, not brooking this, gets a vote of Parliament for revocation of this marlage, and by the power of Robert, the Kings Brother, made a mariage between Mary his Daughter, and David, and, giving a greater fum, got it confirmed in Parliament. The Earl of March, nettled at this, demands redress, but being not heard, leaves the Court, and with his Family and Friends goes into England, to the Lord Peircey, an utter Enemy of the Donglasses, wasts March, and especially depradating the lands of the Dowglasses. The Scots declare the Earl of March an enemy, and tend to demand him up of the English, who deny to surrender him. Hot-spur Peircey and March, make several incursions into Scotland, till at last they were repulsed at Linton-Bridge by This was about the year four hundred, at the Dowglasses. which time War was denounced, and the English entered with a great Army, took Haddington and Lieth, and laid fiege to Edenburgh Castle, David the Kings Son being within it, which the new Governour, ambitiously delaying to relieve, the English, satisfyed with the terrour they brought, retired again. After which March did not cease his little incursions; which to be revenged of, Dowglas divided his forces into two Squadrons, the first to Halyburton, who returned from Barmborough, with some prey; the second and greater to Patrick Hepburn, who unwarily roving with his prey, was set on by the English, and with all the youth of To revenge this, Dowglas Lothian, put to the Sword. gets together 10000. men, and passing beyond Newcastle, met with young Peircey, &c. who at Homildon, a little village in Northumberland, in the year 1401, gave him and his Party fuch a confiderable defeat, as Scotland had not receiv'd the like for a long time. This put Peircey in hopes to reduce all beyond the Fryth, but the troubles at home withdrew him from that design. By this Annabel the Queen dying,

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David

David her Son, who by her means had been restrained, broke out into his natural diforders, and committed all kind of Rapine and Luxury. Complaint being brought to his Father, he commits him to his Brother the Governor (whose fecret design being to root out the off-spring) the business was so ordered, as that the young man was thut up in Falkland Castle, to be starved, which yet was for a while delayed, one woman thrusting in some thin Oaten Cakes at a chink & another giving him milk out of her papps through a Trunck. But both these being discovered, the youth being forced to tear his own members, dyed of a multiplied death; which murder being whispered to the King, and the King enquiring after it, was so abused by the false representations of his Brother, that grief and imprecations was all the Relief he had left him, as being now retired fickly to Bote-Castle, and unable to punish him. The King being solicitors of fames his younger Son, is resolved by the example of the good usage of David, to fend him to Charls the fixt of France, & having taken Shipping at the Basse, as he past by the Promontory of Flamborough, whether forc'd by tempest, or that he was Seasick, he was forced to land, taken by the English, and detained. notwithstanding the allegation of a Truce of eight years, and his Fathers Letters. And though it came to the Privy-Council to be debated, yet his detention was carried in the This advantage he had by his Captivity, that Affirmative. he was well and carefully educated; but the News fo struck his Father, that he had almost presently dyed, but being carried into his Chamber, with voluntary abstivence and forrow he shortned his life, three daies longer, viz. to the first of April 1406.

He was a man of a goodly and a comely personage, one rather fit for the tranquillity of a private life, than the agitations of Royalty, and indeed such an one whose Reigns do little else but fill up

Chronologies with the number of their years.

Upon this the Parliament confirm Robert for Governour, a man of parts able enough for that employment, but a man of fuch a violent and inveterate ambition, as would facrifile any thing to make it fuel to it felf. Soon after March and Donglas were reconciled.

enters Ross, as his pretended inheritance, with ten thousand men, and easily reduced it, and flushed by this, goes to Murrey, which being strengthless, he easily mastered, and pass'd spoiling into Bogy, and approached Aberdeen. To stop this torrent, Alexander Earl of Mar, followed by most of

the Nobility, met him at Harley, aVillage beyond Fey, where they joined in so bloody a Battel, and lost to many Noble. and Confiderable Persons, that though Night parted them, neither could pretend to the Victory. To this year doth the University of Saint Andrews ow its rife. The next 'ten years nothing was done between the Scotch and English; Henry the V. fucceeding his Father, and being wholly intent for France, there was little to do between the two Nations, unless some small incursions. In the year 1419, auxiliaries were fent into France, and employed in Turain, but they making meary in the Easter-Holidaies, the Duke of Clarence, being informed thereof, marches with a party to them; but notwithstanding finding a stout repulle, was himself, with many of his Souldiers, slain. Whilst this happens in France, in the year 1420. Robert the Governour dies, and Mordack his Son, a Soc, was put in his place, which he was so fit for, that he could not govern his three Sons, which was the cause of the Fathers and their ruines. Domestick Change called home the Forces employed in France, but things being fettled, others went in their pla-Henry of England, hearing of the Death of Clarence, made John Duke of BEDFORD his Vice-Roy, himself intending to follow, and carry JAMES of Scotland along with him, the better either to winn or suspend the hearts of the Scots; but it was in vain, for they faid they would not obey a man, that had not his own Liberty. Much action past afterwards between them and the English, but we haften to close with the Author.

Mordack, as it hath been said, being Governour, having neglected all Discipline at home, suffered his Sons to come to that petulancy, that they were not only offensive to all the people, but with all disobedient to their Father, who having a brave Faulcon, which his Son Walter Rather, who having a brave Faulcon, which his Son Walter Rather, who having a brave Faulcon, which his Son Walter Rather, who having a brave faulcon, which his Father being angry at, well, saies he, since I capnot govern thee, I will bring one shall govern us both: And from that day he ceased not to further the Redemption of the King, which was after Ordered at an Assembly at Perth, and an honourable Embassy sent into England, With which this Author begins his History, and we conclude this petry Labour.

The succeeding part, which is to continue where he leaves, is expected to be worthily performed by Mr. Saunderson, and the precedent by the ingenious and learned Mr. Christopher Irwin.

- But becanse we have made a part of promise to say somewhat of

of the Author, who hath left himself the memory of an ingenious man, by the things we have of his, and for that it is but too common ingratitude, to leave us better acquainted with the thoughts of men, than with their persons and qualities, many excellent Spirits leaving only their Spiritual parts behind them, and little of their Corporal but their names, we shall set down in brief what we under-

stand concerning him.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND was the Son of Sir John DRUMMOND, and was born in the year 1589, and was brought up in Edenburgh, where having past through his course of Philosophy, he took the Degree of Master of Arts, and in the year 1606, went into FRANCE, to study the Lawes, as a way to raise him to preferment at Court. But his wit being of a greater delicacy, could not engage on the toyls and difficulties of that study, as being wholly enclined to ease and retirement, and a prosecution of the easier and softer entertainments of the Muses. In this humour (for he was especially addicted to POETRY, having for that parpose sufficiently mastered the GREEK, LATINE, FRENCH, SPANISH, and ITALIAN Tonques, as may appear by all his things of that nature) lived retiredly with his Brother-in-Law, till he was five and fourty years of age, at which time he unexspectedly maried MARGARITE Lo-GANE, a younger Daughter of the House of RESTELRIG.

He was not more retired in his Person than careless of his Fame, (all his Poems being printed in loose sheets, and only addressed to his Friends.) Tet though he retreated from all the World, yet he was still found out, for all the Learned, and men of Quality, gave him his due respect. As for his own Countrey-men, the Earl of Stering in Lin, Leochem, and Doctor Johnson. Besides, though he were little in England, yet Daniel, the Litters, and testifyed their esteem of him. All that we have of him is this Book, and his Poems, of which when they are to be published, you will have have better information. In this manner be continued a harmless, and a virtuous life, till in the year 1649. he was summoned to pay his great debt to Nature, having left a little before his death, a quantity of books to the Library of Edenburgh.

Having premised thus much to satisfy the Reader, as worthy to be foreknown, though I have had little encouragement for my pains, I shall cease being ingenious in another mans book, and attend the resti-

tution of that without which my self cannot subsist.

From my Chamber Jan. 24. 165.

Diff. Dixing



IAMES: I.KING OF

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# HISTORY Peign of James the Cult

Reign of Iames the first,

### SCOTLAND.



ried with the form of their present Government; for though they had a King, they enjoyed not the happiness of his sway, by his restraint afar off, under the power of a Stranger; some of them were poss-ssed with hopes by the change of the Head, to find a change in the Body of the State, and a flow of their eb-

bing Fortumes; the Church-men and the Gentry having ever continued loyall and well-affected to the Lawful Heir of the Crown; the commons, men delighting in Novations, and ordinarily preferring uncertainties, things unfeen and to come, to what for the time they did hold and enjoy; the Governor of the Kingdom also himself, irritated by the misdemeanour of his Children, and forecasting the danger he might be plunged into, if the States should purchase the recovery of their King, he not complying to their Design: all unanimously and together determine without longer prolongings to work the delivery of their Native Prince JAMES forth of England

land where he had been detained eighteen years as a Prisoner.

They who were chosen and got Commission to negotiate his Liberty were Archembald Earl of Dowglass, Son to Archembald Duke of Turrain, William Hay Constable of the Realm, Alexander Irwin of Drumm Knight, Henry Lightoun Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Cornwall Arch-Dean of Lothian.

These comming to London were graciously received by the State, and severally entertained by King James, and so many friends as either his Alliance or Virtues had acquired. After some few daies stay desiring to have audience in Counsel they were admitted, where Bishop Lightonn is said to have spoken to this effect.

The respect and reverence which the Nation of the Scots carryeth towards all Kings is all where known, but most that love and layalty which they have to the sacred Persons of their own native Princes: for as Monarchy is the most ancient form of Government, so have they ever esteemed it the best, it being more easie to find one instructed and trained up in heroical virtues, than to find many. And how well soever Governours and Vice Gerents rule the Commonwealth, yet is that Government but as the light of the Moon or stars in absence of the Sun, and but representations of shadows for reall Bodies. This hath moved the three estates of that Kingdom to direct us here unto you.

Our King these many years hath been kept from us, upon just or unjust Grounds we will not argue, that providence which bath appointed every thing to its own end, hath done this for the best, both to you and us, and we are now to treat with you for his Delivery. Befeeching you to remember that his Father of Sacred memory recommended bim out of that general duty which one Prince oweth to an other, to your Kings Protection, in hope of Sanctuary, and in request of and and comfort against secret, and therefore the more dimgerous, Enemies. And to confest the Truth, bitherto be bath been more assured among t you, than if he had remained in his own Countrey, your favours being many waies extended towards bim: baving in all liberal Sciences and pertues brought him up. That his abode with you feemeth rather to have been a remaining in an Academy, than in any Captivity, and thus be had been lost if he had not been loft. Besides, though we have the happines to claim his Birth and Stemm, ye have the claim of his Succession and Education . He being now matched with the Royall Blood of England in Marriage. Thus his Liberty which we intreat for is a benefit to your setwes. and those Princes which shall claim the descent of his off-spring. For if it should fall forth (as what may not by the variable changes of Kingdomes come to pass? ) that this Prince by Usurpers and Rebells were disgarnished of his own Crown, they are your Swords which should brandish, to set him on his Royall throne. We ex-

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pett that as ye have many waies rendred him yours, ye will not refuse to engage Him yet more by his Liberty, which he must acknowledge wholly and sreely to receive from you: and by benesits and and love te overcome a King, is more than by force of Arms. And since he was not your Prisoner by chance of Warr (having never raised Arms against you) but by way of Protestion detained here, and entertained, so ye will, respecting your ancient honour and senerosity, send him freely back to his own; yet if it be so that ye will have acknowledgement, for what ye have bestowed on his education, the distress of the present estate of his subjects and Crown considered, We will not stand upon trisles of Money for the Redemption of a Prince above all price.

The Lords of the Council were diverse waies inclined to this Embassie, some thought it not fit to dismiss him. For his remaining in England seemed the more to assure the king dome of Scotland unto them; having the King and his children in their custody what dared they not enterprise, or not bring to pass? Or if Scotland should plot any thing by way of Rebellion, the King having his party within the Realm, by the assistance of the English would keep under the other Factions; and thus the Estate by both being made weak, it would be a fair breach for a Conquest, and the annexing that

Kingdome to the Crown of England:

That he knew too much of the Estate and affairs of England to be sent away to a Nation ever their Enemies. That being at liberty and amongst his own, he might resent the in-

jury of his long restraint.

Others of the Council thought it best to dismiss him, They had learned by experience that the keeping of the King of Scots hindered no waies the Scots from affifting the French, year rather that it did exasperate their choller, and make them in Revenge addict themselves wholly to the French: the Governour no wates keeping to the English, and siding the French, upon whom to be revenged they could find no furer way than to fet at liberty the King whose return of necessity must needs change the face of the State, and trouble him. for the conquest of the Crown of scotland, it was not at that time of such moment for England, they having the most part of France in their Subjection, which was as much, if not more, as they could hold, then it would prove a more harmless and sure purchase to make scotland theirs, by the Succession of Lady Jane of Sommerset, than by war, the event whereof is ever doubtful and beyond any affurance of Man. The Liberty of the King of Scots might prevent the encreasing strength of the Kings Enemies in France, and secure the Peace and tranquillity of the Common wealth at home: King James being all English by education I hoperof

ved not of their Party, yet he must prove neutral to both the

Kingdoms.

Henry the fixth, then King of England, being of under-age was governed by his three Uncles of his Fathers fide, Humpbrey Duke of Glocester, who was made Protector of his Person and Realm, John Duke of Bedford, who was established Regent of France, and Thomas Duke of Excester. But Henry Beaufoord Cardinal, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, a man eminent in Blood and Riches, Uncle to the Lady Jane, in estect governed all. These gave way, rather then approved that the King of Scots should be set at liberty and sent home. And though they would have dismissed him freely, in respect of the Dowry of his Queen, which was not delivered, having use of present moneys for the maintenance of the Wars in France, and the more to cover the injustice of his Captivity; they thought it expedient to set a Ransom upon him.

The Commissioners having met, it was declared, that for a sufficient sum of moneys their King might return and enjoy his own Liberty; the one half to be paid in hand, able Hostages remaining in England till the other half was fully discharged. The Ransom agreed upon was four hundred thousand Merks, but by the power of the Cardinal the third was discharged, for which he was long after accused before the King by the Duke

of Glocefter.

The Governour and Estate of Scotland, having known the fum laid upon them for the Liberty of the King, though the hasty acquiring of it was grievous unto them, preferring Glory and things necessary to matters of money, immediatly difpatched fo much as could be gathered, together with a great many young Noblemen of the Kingdom to remain Holtages for the reft; who (after the English Writers) were David son to the Eatl of Athole, Alexander Eatl of Crawford, the Lord Gordon, John de Lyndesay, Patrick Son and Heir to Sir John Lyon, David de Ogleby, Sir William de Ruthen, Miles Graham David Mowbray and William Oliphant. These were honorably received entertained and kept. The Kings Father in Law, the Earl of Somerfet, the Cardinal his Brother, accompanied their Neece to the Borders, and there taking their leave returned back. The King with the rest of their Train, received with many Troops of Nobles and Gentlemen, who swarmed from all parts of the Kingdom to give him a dutifull welcome into his Native foyl, and themselves the contentment of beholding onethey had to long defired and expected, with loud acclamations and applaufes of the Commons as he held his Progress. on the Paffion Week in Lent came to Edinburgh.

During his abode there, he affembled many of the Estates, listened to their Petitions, prepared for the approaching Par-

liament.

liament, which had been summoned before his coming. The Solemnities of Easter finished, the King came with his Queen to Perih, and from thence in the beginning of the moneth of May to Scone, where the year 1424, by Mordock the Governor, Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife (to whom that charge by custom of the Kingdom did appertain) and Henry Bishop of S. Andrews the 27. year of his Age, there was a joynt Coronation of himself and his Queen, being according to the computation of the old Scottish Hiltory, the hundreth and one King of Scotland.

At which time sigismond, son to Charls the sourth, was Emperour of the West. John the seventh, the son of Andronicus of the East; Amurach the second, Great Turk; Alphonsus the fifth, King of Spain; Charls the seventh, King of France; Henry the sixth, King of England; and with Martine the sifth, many claim-

ed the Chair of St. Peter.

The ends in calling the Parliament were the Coronation of the King, to make the People see a Princes authority was come where they had but lately a Governours; the establishing a Peace amongst the Subjects, and taking away all Factions, the exacting a Sublidic for the relief of the Hostages in England. To this last, the Noblesheld strong hand, by reason many of their Sons were engaged. Here a general Tax was condescended up. on through the whole Realm, as twelve pennies of the pound to be paid of all Lands, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and four pennies of every Cow, Ox, Horse, for the space of two years together. When the Commons had taken it grievoully that the Subfidie, granted by the States of the Kingdom in Parliament, was exacted mostly of them; after the first Collection, the King pittying their poverty, remitted what was unpayed, and until the Marriage of his Daughter, thereafter never exacted any Subfidie of his Subjects. For he would gently strain milk, and not wring blood from the breast of his Countrey, rendring the disposure thereof, chaste, sincere and pure for expences necessary and profitable, not for profusions, which neither afford contentment nor reputation; for money is both the nerves which give motion and veins, which entertain life in a State. Amongst others whom the King honouted, Alexander, second Son to Duke Mordock, was dubbed Knight.

The Parliament dissolving, the King came from Perth to Edinburgh, where having assembled all the present Officers, and such who had born Authority in the State during the time of Duke Robert, and Duke Mordock, especially those whose charge concerned the Rents of the Crown, he understood by their accounts, that the most part of all the Rents, Revenues and Lands pertaining to the Crown, were wasted, alienated and put away, or then by the Governors bestowed on their friends and followers, the Customs of Towns and Burroughs only ex-

An. Dom. 1424.

cepted.

cepted. This a little incensed his indignation, yet did he imother and put a fair countenance on his passion, seeming to slight what he most car'd for: occasion thereaster no sooner served when he began to countenance and give way to Promoters and Informers (necessary though dangerous Instruments of State, which many good Princes have been content to maintain, and such who were not bad never denyed to hear, but using them no longer then they were necessary for their ends) to rip up secret and hidden crimes, wrongs suffered, or committed during the time of his detension in England. He received the complaints of the Church-men, Countrey Gentlemen, Merchants against all those who had either wronged them or the State, and would have the causes of all Accusers to be heard and examined: Here many to obtain the favour of the Prince, accused others.

Upon pregnant accusations Walter Stuart one of the Sons of Duke Mordock was Arrested and sent to the Bass, to be close kept; so was Malcolm Fleming of Cammernauld and Thomas Foyd of Kilmarnock committed to Ward in Dalkieth. Not long after (the Nobility interceding) Malcolm and Thomas, goods being restored which they had taken wrongfully, and Fines laid upon them for their Offence, promising to satisfie all whom they had wrong'd, were pardoned all faults, and then set at Li-

berty.

The King by listening to Promoters, came to the knowledge of many great insolencies committed by sundry of his Nobles; which as it bred hatred in him, so fear in them, and both appeared to study a Novation; They for their own safety, He to vindicate Justice and his Authority. The Duke had highly resented the committing of his Son, as had his Father in Law the Earl of Lennex. The Male-contents being many, if they could have swayed in one body as they came to be of one mind; threatned no small matter. The King from the intelligence of close Meetings, secret Leagues, some Plots of his Nobles, began to forecast an apparent storm in the State, and danger to his own Person, whereupon (being both couragious and wise) he proclaimeth again a Parliament at Perth, where the three Estates being assembled in his Throne of Majesty, he spoke in this manner;

I have learned from my tender years that Royalty confisheth not so much in a Chair of State, as in such actions which do well become a Prince. What mine have been since my coming Home and Government among you, I take first God, and then your selves for witnesses. It all of them be not agreeable to you all, and if any rigorous dealing be used against some, Let him who is touched lay aside his particular, and look to the setting of Justice in the State, and publick Good of the whole

Kingdom,

Kingdom, and he shall find his sufferings tolerable, perhaps necessary, and according to the time deserved. I have endeavoured to take away all Discords, abolish Factions, Sup preis Oppression, as no Forein Power hath attempted ought against you hitherto, so that ye should not endeavour ought one against another, nor any thing against the weal publick and Soveraignty. Slow have I been in punishing injuries done to my felf, but can hardly pardon such as are done to the Common-wealth, for this have I called this Parliament. let rapine and out rage no more be heard of, but every man recal himself to a civil and regular form of life, especially you (my Nobles) think yerrue and civility true Nobility, that to be accounted noblest which is best, and that a mans own worth begets true glory. By these and the obedience to their Princes, your ancestors acquired what ye now enjoy, there is no stronger means to keep the goods acquired from a Prince. than the same by which they were first purchased, which is still obeying. Though by leagues, Factions, and the confounding of all true Policy and Order of Government, Man may imagine he can thun the Judicatories of Man, let none how great foever, conceive he can fave his wrongs unpunish. ed from the Almighty hand of God. Ye must not hereafter count Authority, honesty and virtue idle names, nor reckon that right which ye may winn or hold by dint of Sword. For me, I will behave my felt in my proceedings as I must answer to God, and for you my Subjects do so as ye shall an fwer to God first, and after to your Prince whom God hath let over you.

No mans Greatness thall appall me in doing right, nor the meaness of any make him so contemptible that I shall not give ear to his grievance; for I will strive to do justice on Oppres-

fors, and support the innocent to my uttermost.

Here he easily found the power which the Presence of a Prince hath over Subjects; for having confirmed the minds of the Parliament, a mutual oath passed between him and his Subjects; The Kingswore if any made warr against Scotland, or went about to overthrow the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, to resist and invade him with all his power; The Esstates swore if any by open Rebellion should revolt or conspire against the King, or be found to be the Authors of Factions and Novations, they should assist and side the King with all their forces, after what manner he should command. A Solemn Act was made that none of the Subjects should bind up a league together.

The King the more to affure the Clergy unto him, fwore to defend the liberties of the Church, making an Act that all Church lands unjustly detained from them, during the time of

bis Captivity should be restored unto them

The Body of the Estate holding good for the King, Mordech Duke of Albany with his Sons Walter and Alexander were presently arrested and committed. as were likewise Dancan Earl of Lennox, and Robert Graham (a Man that dared give attempt upon those things which no honest man ever could think) they were sent to Faulkland, but the Duke to Carlaverock. Archembald Earl of Dowglaß, with William Earl of Angust the Kings Sifters fon, George Earl of March, Walter Uguylbuy were committed, but after fet at liberty. Adam Hepburn of Hayller, Thomas Hay of Yeafter, with others were fent to the Castle of St. Andrews. That same day the Duke was com. mitted, the King seized on his Castles of Faulkland in Fyfe, and Down in Monteeth, out of which he removed the Dutchefs to Tantallon in Lothian. James the youngest Son of the Duke, whom former carriage and harmless behaviour had exempted from all suspition of Treachery after the committing of his Father and Friends, whether of a youthfull insolency, or desperate rage, resolving to do and suffer all extremities, or that he was contemned, accompanied with a number of outlaws, and Mountainers on the Holy rood Day called the invention of the Cross, came to the Town of Dumbartonn, fet it on fire, surprised there John stuart of Dondonald surnamed the Red, Uncle to the King, flew him with thirty others; after which cruelty advising with fear and despair he fled into Ireland where he dyed. The Wife of Walter Stuart his Brother, with her two lons Andrew and Alexander, with Arthur a bale born, hasted with him, where they remained till the reign of King James the third.

The barbarous fierceness of James highly incensed the King against his Father and race, diverted the current of his Clemency; for when he thought by centle incare rations to have restrained their malice, now he finds that that deaf Tyrant the Law can only secure himself and bring rest to his Subjects Whereupon the year following he calleth a Parliament at Sterling, where the estates assembling, the Duke with his two Sons and Father in law the Earl of Lennox (accusations being engrossed, and articles exhibited against them out of the sty of former times, of what had been done unjustly, cruelly on amiss during the Kings captivity) were presented, arraigned, and condemned: Walter Earl of Athole being Judge, to whom were adjoined many noble men and Barons.

That same day on which their fatall sentence was pronoun ced, the two young men Walter Stuart and Alexander Sonnes to the Duke, were taken forth to the Hill which ariseth a gainst the Cassle of Sterling, and had their heads cut off. The day following Mordoch Duke of Albanie late Governour, with Duncane Lennox Earl of Lennox was beheaded. The

The deaths of these Noblemen, were so far from breeding any distaste in the common People, that out of their depraved disposition and envy against their betters, they slowted at their fall, reproached their insolencyes, delighted in their execution: and as much without reason railed on them when they were dead, as they had flattered them being alive.

Whether by the wisdome of the King it hath fallen out, who caused abolish the Indictment (being against persons so near unto him in blood) or bluntness of those times, which thought such clear evidences needed no Records; the particulars of the Attaindor of these great men are swallowed

up in dark oblivion.

Moved at the Imprisonment of his Son, did Mordoch with Lennox (hating him whom they had wronged) attempt against the Kings person, and that same very Treason which atterward had success, was it then between the plot, and the execution surprised, and in the very head cut off? The Earl of Athol, a man whose desires were both extremly wicked

unbounded; was a great actor in this Tragedy.

Did the King, standing in sear of their extraordinary greatness, bend his eyes upon the disposition of the Ottenders, squaring their actions by the rule of their intentions, and weighing what, not how far they did offend? for Princes quickly free themselves from their very shadows in matter of jealousie of State. And they have great reason to prevent such crimes which cannot be punished when they are committed, nor should they expect to amend a mischief when the Criminals are become Masters of their Judges.

People believe not that any conjure against a Prince, till they find the Treason to have taken effect, and distrust the Plot till they see him dead. But the Death of such who are suspected to be the Authors of disorders in a Commonwealth, spareth an infinite number of lives, and much civill blood when they are first surprized, neither are too strict circumstances of Law to be observed when a small delay may

abolish all observing of order and Laws.

The Duke to raile his own reputation to the disadvantage of the King with all secrecy of his intentions, had procured himself a vast Authority with the Nobles. by a semblance of liberality wasting the Patrimony of the Crown, as remitting Treasons, restoring again Lands annexed to the Crown. He had studied so conciliate to him the minds of the Commons, that the desire of a King did not much touch them, using such moderation in his proceedings that his Government seemed unto many not only tolerable but desirable.

He had essayed to draw the Earl of Donglast, and had drawn the Earl of March, to enter into a League with him,

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and these Noblemen then in the Castle of St. Andrews, divided the Nobility and made them break their Allegiance to the King. Upon which attempt it seemeth that that Act of this Kings second Parliament was made. That no Subjects should league themselves together.

The King effermed all that Government of Robert and Mordock to be an Liurpation of the Crown, and feared the like

thereafter.

His Son James had burnt Dumbarton, and treacheroufly killed the Kings Uncle, which was not done without his know-

ledge, it not Counfel.

Though he relieved the King of his Captivity, he suffered him to remain very long a Prisoner; neither did he practise his deliverance till he perceived the whole States of the Kingdom resolved to call him Home, and was compelled by the injuries of his own Children.

To exasperate new injuries by old rancours, his Father Robert spurred by Ambition, had famished to death the Kings Brother David in the Castle of Faulkland, to escape whose Tyrannie, the King yet a childe was committed to the protection of stranger Princes. What ever the particulars of their accusations have been, it is above the possibility of any Governor. or Man in eminent place and authority fo to carry himfelt, but a discontented Prince, if he will sethim to a tryal, shall bring some one or other of his actions to whirl him within compass Thus the imprecation of Robert the third took efof Justice. fect upon the race of Robert the Governor; for after the death of the Duke of Rosbefay he is faid to have curled him most deadly, praying as he had flain his Brothers Son, and filled their house with blood, so God would punish him his Stock and Posterity. There is not any wickedness, which beareth not its punishment and repentance at the last, if we can have rarience to attend the last act of those Tragedies played on this Theater of the World. By the Attaindor of the Duke, the Farldoms of Fife, Monteith, and Lennox were divolved to the Crown The Caftle of Inch. Merin in Loch-Lommond which h.d a while been kept good for James, who fled into Ireland, by John Montgomery and Humpbrey Cunningham was brought to the obedience of the King.

When the Lords and Gentlemen who were in Prisons, attending the King pleasure, understood what necessary justice had been executed upon the Duke and his Sons, they were prievously perplexed; yet the King, like a wife Physician, would take no more blood then might take away the disease and all further causes of Faction. For within twelve moneths thereafter he set them all at Liberty, and received them in his wonted favour, upon promise of their loyal demeanour, and

duriful

dutifull obedience in time to come. But being thus freely difcharged, the conceit was taken that Mordocks head and his fons, with Lennoxes was only the aim, and that they were used but as a Countenance of State to dazle the eyes of the People.

The Wars continuing between the English and the French the one to keep what he was in policition of the other to reobtain whathe had lost: Charls the leventh, a wife and victorious Prince, knowing the friendship of Scalland to be of no small importance to any that would fight against the English, the flower and strength of the Scottist Souldiers which had followed the French Wars being then blafted and spent, sendeth John Sturt of Darnley, Marshal of a Garrison of Horsemen, with the Earl of Dowglass (as the French write) then Marshal of France, to Scotland, to have a fresh supply of Men of Arms, and Renaula of Charteres Arch-bishop of Rheymes, (who there had Crowned his Master, and was Chancellour of France to renew the ancient League between the French and Scots. But the main business about which the Arch-bishop came, was the trafficking of a Marriage between Lewis the Daulphine, though then very young, with Margaret Daughter to King James. This Match the English had either neglected or contemn'd, which afterward they fued for. The renewing of the old League and Amity between the two Nations was eafily condescended unto, it being but a witness to the world of their mutual kindness. The chief Articles of which were;

The War or Injury, moved or done by the English men to one of

the faid Nations, to be as Common-wrong to both.

If the English men make War on the French Nation, then the Scots at the costs and charges of the French King, shall minister to them succours.

Likewise if the Scots be molested by the English Wars, the French Nation having their charges allowed, shall be to them Ayders and

Allifters.

That none of both Nations shall either contract or make Peace with the Realm of England, without the consent and agreement of the other.

The Marriage being found commodious for both Nations, was likewise with great contentment agreed upon, and concluded; fresh recruits of Souldiers were levied, and dispatched

with the Embassador to France.

The South and Champion parts of Scotland brought under obedience, and a peacefull Government, the King will have the remotest Countreys of his Kingdom, even those blocked up and baricadoed by the snowy Clists of Grantsben, to acknowledge his Justice. The wildeness of the soyl had made the Inhabitants there more sierce then Fierceness it self, and let them out to all unlawful Riots and Rapines. To restrain their

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infolent humors and bring them within compass of Civility in the year 1426. he caused repair the Castle of Innerness. which is situated in the uttermost borders of Murray, and by their incursions which had been turned desolate, hither some years after commeth he in person and keepeth open Court, that being near the evil he might have the better means to provide for and confider it. But he seemed to have arrived in some Territory of the scythians, having known and found things which none did nor dared relate unto him, for he had learned that not many miles of, there were men some of which had one thousand, some two thousand Robbers at their call, who were accustomed to drive prevs from the more civil Neighbours and Borders, pilling and spoiling, poluting and ravishing without any difference of right or wrong. holy or prophane, but only tollowing their ravenous and insolent humours. On the quieter fort they set Tribute, others they compell to Minister to them sustenance and necessaries: The God, Prince, Law which they obey are their barbarous Cheiftains, amongst which he is thought the best who doth

most transcend in Villany.

The King feemed to give smal faith to these relations entertaining kindly and feasting from all parts, all such who daigned to fee him, mostly those who were the Chiefs and Principals of the Families in these bounds, by whose means all whom innecency did guard came freely to Court, and many guilty by fair promises and hopes of the Kings clemency presented themselves. Others, though most retractory and unwilling at first, that they might not seem out of the fashion of their Companions, and appearsuspect, resorted thither, ing these. Offices might be interpreted to proceed of good will and obedience, which were done of emulation. Fourty of these Leaders and Chiefs, meeting at once and being together within the inclosure of the Castle Walls, were surprized and committed to close Prisons. Some daies after, two-whose wickedness was throughly known, Alexander Mack-Rore or Mackrarey and John Mackcarture were hanged. James Cambell for the murther of John of the Isles ( renownd amongst his own) was beheaded. The rest upon hope of further Tryall were committed to Prilons, of which for example and terror to others many were executed, the remains in peaceful manner sent home, the King having graciously exhorted them to a lite according to the Law of God and Man.

Alexander of the Isles Earl of Ross, being taken in this trap was brought by the King to Perth, where he was accused of oppression, and many barbarous cruelties were proved against him: yet such was the Kings elemency, he was only some few daies committed, and after lovely advice at the Coun-

cil-Table, rather to obey his Prince than render himself Chief. tain of Thievish Troops, he was freely dismist, but benefits oblige not ignoble Minds, and mercy shown to a fierce and obstinate nature disgraceth the beauty of the clemency of a Prince; for no sooner was he returned to his own Territories where interpreting imprisonment a dishonour and shime to a Man of his Power and Qualities, and telling that a promife made by one imprisoned by the Judgement of Lawyers themselves was nothing worth, he gathered together a Rabble of Outlaws and Mountainers, came towards the Town of Inner. neß, which peaceably he entered and was courteoufly recei ved, having before dispersed his men among the Fenns and Hills toward the West, they, so soon as Night had brought the inhabitants to rest, spoiled them and set their houses on And because the Castle was the place in which he had been surprized, he belieged it with a thousand lewd fellows practifed in dayly depredations and Robberies.

At the noise of this Cruelty the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Shires from all quarters affemble themselves for the defence of their Friends, the King lifteth speedy preparations, at the approach of which the Clans, Whattones and Camerones with other Thieving Troups dispersed themselves and fled into their lurking holes. Alexander abandoned of their forces with lo many as he could keep together fled into Lockgubabarre, from thence passed to the Isles deliberating to go to Ireland, but things answered not his expectation, for by his Spie finding that he was way-laid, and that numbers of people. (a prize being fet upon his head) in all places laboured to furprize him: when he had long continued defolate, and a vagabond, at last he began to intercede with his Friends at Court for Mercy to him from the King. Sundry tempt the Kings Clemency, but he will not promise nor assure them of any favour before Alexander in person as Supplyant render himself and his estate to his disposure. Thus finding no escape, and destitute of all help he was imboldned to come privately to Edinbrough; there on Easter day wrapped in a mourning Garment, and concealed in the dragg of the multitude, the King being in the Church of the Holy-rood at divine Service, he tell prostrate at his knees, befeeching him for grace, which at the request of the Queen and other Affisters he obtained. His life and private estate was granted him, but that he should do no more harm, and be reduced to a more modest behaviour, William Dowglass earl of Angus was appointed to take him in custody, and that within the Castle of Tantallon; his Mother Euphem Daughter to Walter Lest, sometime earl of Ross a Mannish implacable woman, who had solicited and raised her Son to all that mischief, was committed to the Ifle of S. Colm. Donald

Donald Balloch, Coufin germain to Alexander Lord of the Ifles, a man of a houghty mind, refenting the Kings proceedings against his Cousin, raised a great number of Out-laws and Robbers, and invaded Lochambabar, omitting no cruelty, which enriged Savages use to commit. Alexander Stuart, Earl of Marre, and Alane Earl of Carthness, with such numbers of People as they could in hafte raife, came to defend the Country against the incursions of these Highland men, and rencountred them at Innerlochty, where by an over-weening opinion of Victory, which eafily deceiveth young Souldiers, imagining they went to fight with untrained, raw Theeves, who would never abide their march, and mifregard of martial Discipline, Allan was flain, and Alexander Earl of Marre discomfitted, and Balloch infolent of his Victory, with a great Booty returned to the The King at the Rumour of this disafter in all celerity with a great Army came to Dunstaffage, intending from that to pass to the Isles, which when the Clans and other chief men understood, turning their defence into submission, they came in haste to Dunstaffage, & humbly begg'd pardon: laying the fault of the whole Rebellion on Balloch, and fome adventuring Thieves, many of which Balloch had preffed to that mischief against their minds: the King finding extream rigour at that time a cure unleasonable, taking their oath of fidelity, and that they should persue Bolloch and histollowers accepted them in his favor, only transporting some of the most factious along with him. They in few days, to seem worthy of the Kings mercy, surprized a great number of them, three hundred of which died all on Gibbets; & punishment had taken away a much greater number, had he not confidered that there is no man so miserable, who is not a member of the State.

The King, lest hope of impunity might cherish Rebellion, resolves to finde Falloch, and hearing he lurked in Ireland in the bounds of one named odo, he sends to have him delivered; odo, either out of sear of the Kings displeasure, or hope of rewards, seizeth on him; and suspecting if he sent him alive, he might by power or stratagem slight his Convoy, chopped off his head, and sent it to King James, then remaining at Sterling.

The Clans, Whattons, and Camerons, spairing the Magistrates sword, yet executing Justice by mutual slaughters one
of at other, had rendred the North very peaceable of that scum
of Theeves: some Chieftains were shut up in fast Prisons, anong which two most eminent in all mischiefs, hating mortally others, and hated of all good men, Angus Duff of StrathNaverne, and Angus Murrey, these the King out of Policy of State
let out and set at liberty, of purpose that they might be thrust
forward into a greater danger. Returning to their wilde countueys, Duff, nothing respecting the Kings clemency, accompa-

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nied with many Theeves and Robbers, driveth a great prey of cattel and other spoils from the Consines of Marrey and Caith.

ness; which to recover, Angus Murrey, that he might attempt something worthy of his life and liberty, soiloweth with a great power of like Souldiers; having now Authority to justifie his revenge on a guilty enemy, he overtaketh Duff near unto Strath-Naverne; There strongly is it sought, neither of the parties being interiour to other in number, cruelty, or despair. This conflict continued so sierce and eager, that of both sides there remained scarce twelve persons alive, and those so wounded that Justice had not whom to pursue. An overthrow delightful and commodious for the peace and quiet of all the ho nest and vertuous Subjects of these Countreys.

These many executions nothing appalled one Mac-Donald born in Ross, a Thief stells in all murthers, mischievous without mercy, equally greedy of blood and spoil, who by Robberies had acquired great riches. Amongst other cruelties, he is said to have naild horse shoes to the soles of a Widow, because in her grief she had sworn in haste to report his wickedness to the King. Being brought to Perth by men of his own qualities, with twelve of his Associates, the King caused them in like manner to be shod as they had served the woman; and when three days, for a spectacle to the people, they had been hurryed along the Town, his Companions were Gibbeted, and he made

shorter by the head.

Gross enormities cut away, factions repressed, the King maketh a Progress throughout all the parts of his Realm, doing Justice upon all forts of Malefactors; neither did Pardons granted by the late Governour avail, it being alledged, that they expired by his death; and though small faults might have been passed by such remissions, yet horrible and crying crimes were not within the compass of such authority. Whilest he thus continues in the administration of Justice, the favorable eye of Providence looketh upon him, and in the year 1430. in the moneth of October, Queen Jane is delivered of two fons at Holy-Rood-Houle, Alexander and James ; the one deceased in his infancy, the other succeeded to his Father and was King. To highten the joy of his people, and diffuse it universally, many prisoners are set at liberty, amongst which were Archibald Earl of Dowglas, Sir Gilbert Kennedie, the Kings Sister sons; the Earl had been keeped in Lochleavin, the other in Sterling. They had been committed rather upon suspition of the times, then men; having spoken too freely against the present Government; Alexander Earl of Ross was also let at liberty. And that the King intended a real and fincere reconciliation, the Earl of Dowglass was made Parent to his Children at the Font; at this solemnity fifty Knights were Dubbed, the first of which was

William

William Dowglas, son to the Earl, who after succeeded to his Fa-

ther in the Earldom of Domglas.

A sweet calm diffusing it self through every corner of the Realm, the King imagining the rest of his Raign to be but the enjoying of a Crown, fets his thoughts wholly to the works of Peace. Many unreasonable Customs (which were become to the vulgar, Laws) had many years continued in his Kingdoms these he will either have abolished or amended; To this effect, he selecteth persons commended for wisdom, gravity and uprightness of life through his Realm, to pry into all abuses, hear and determine of all forts of quarrels and fuits, if any were brought unto them, whereof the ordinary Judges, either for fear dared not, or power of stronger could not, or for hatred or favour would not give any perfect Judgment. To them he gave full Authority to make Inquisition of the breach of poenal Statutes; some hereby were punished by Fines, others in their Lives; he took away the deceit which had heen occasioned by variety of measures; for this end certain Iron measures were appointed to be made, unto which the rest inould be conform and like; before his Reign not only in every Town and Shire, but in every Mannor and House different measures were cur-

rant, which abuse he abolished by Parliament.

The roughness of the times, and perpetual wars and trou. bles of his Ancestors had near taken away the Arts and Handycrafts, and turned the Sciences contemptible, especially fince the Reign of Alexander the third. The Commons by the manifold changes and miseries of the Age affecting Barbarity, the Nobles making Arms their whole study and care; to the further advancement of the Commonwealth, and that his Subjects might have occasion to avoid sloth and idleness, the King from the Neighbor Continent, and from England drew unto him the best Artizans and Manufactors, whom either large priviledges or moneys could entice and oblige. Of which fuch a fair number came, and were so graciously received, that they forgot their Native Countreys, and here made their perpetual abode. And what till this day Scotland enjoyeth of them, owe all their beginning to these Times. Schools of learning were founded, to which great Liberties and priviledges were granted, the King well knowing that what ever is excellent in any Estate, from them had beginning and seed, and that there is no better means to sweeten and tame the wildenature of Men then to busie their spirits with peacefull and sedentary Exerciles; rude and untrained minds being inclinable of themselves to tumult and sedition. To make a necessity of learning, he made an Act that none of the Nobility should succeed to their Ancestors Heritage, except they had some taste of the Civil Law or practice of the Country-Customs, but this after was by them abolished.

Many famous men in all Sciences from the Noblett Univerfities of Christendom came hither, as to the Sanctuary of the Mules, where often the King himfelf in person graced their Lessons, and when great matters did not withdraw him, was Umpire to their harmless Conflicts. Being himself religious, he advanced Men learned and of good life to eminent places in the Church; and that the best deservers might be discerned he distinguished the learned in degrees, Making a Law that none should enjoy the room of a Cannon in any Cathedral Church, unless he were Batchelour in Divinity, or at the least of the Cannot Law. Though he challenged King David and named him a grievous Saint to the Crown, for dilapidating fo much Rent in extraordinary Donations to the Church, yet with great cost and magnificence the founded the Convent of charters in Ferih, and bellowed fair Revenues uponit: The excellent skill which he had in Musick and delight in Poesse made him affect Quirifters, and he was the first that erected in his own Chappels, and the Cathedral Churches of Scotland, Organs, being not much known before his Reign to the Nation.

Peace hath its own dangers no less than Wars, yea often such estates as have increased their Dominions, and become mighty by wars, have sound their ruin in a luxurious peace: Men by a voluptuous life becomming less sensible of true honour. The Court, and by that example the Countrey, was become too soft and delicate, superfluous in all delights and pleasures. Masques, Banqueting, gorgeous appurel revelling were not only licensed, but studied and admired: Nothing did please what was not strange and far brought, Charity began to be restrained, publique magnificence falling in private Riot. What was wount to entertain whole samilies, and a train of goodly men, was now spent in dressing of some little rooms, and the womannish decking of the persons of some few Hermophrodites.

To these the wise King had a while given way, knowing that delicate soft times were more easie to be governed, and a people given to mild arts, and a sweet condition of life, than rough and barbarous, so they turned not altogether womanized: and that it was an easie matter to bring them back again to their old posture. At these abuses some of the severer sort of the Clergy began to casp, yet could they not challenge the Prince, who in the entertainment of his own person, scarce exceeded the degree of any private Man, yea was often under the Pomp and Majesty of a King: But the blemish of all this excess was laid on the English, who by the Queen (their Countrey woman) with new guises dayly resorted hither, and turned new-fangle the Court. The King

not

not only listened to their plaints, but called a Parliament to fatisfy their humours. Here Henry Wardlaw Bishop of S. Andrews, highly aggravating the abuses and superfluities of Court and Countrey, all disorders were pry'd into, and Statures made against them. They abolished riots of all sorts of Pearl (many Rivers in Scotland affording them not only for use but for excess) only women were permitted to wear a small Carkanet of them about their Necks; costly Furs and Ermins were wholly forbidden, together with the abuse of Gold and Silver lace. Penalties were not only imposed upon the transgreffours, but on workmen which should make or fell them: exceffive expense in banqueting was restrained, and dainties banished from the Tables of Epicures, with Jeasters and Buffones. In this year, 1430. the first of June was a terrible Eclipse of the Sun at 2 of the clock afternoon, the day turning black for the space of an half hour, as though it had been Night; therefore it was after called or the Commons, The BLACK HOUR.

The last and greatest matter which busied the Kings thoughts, was, the increasing of his Revenues, and bringing back the Demeasm of the Crown: a work no less dangerous than deep and difficil, and which at last procured him greatest hatred. For till then smothered malice did never burst forth in open slames. And though this diligence of the king concerned much the publique weal, yet such as were interested by rendring what they had long possessed (though without all reason) esteemed themselves highly wronged. The Patrimony of the Crown had been wasted and given away by the two Governours, to keep themselves popular, and thun the envy of a factious Nobility; Thus the King had neither in magnificence to maintain himself, nor bestow upon his friends or strangers.

He had advisedly perused all evidences and charters belonging to the Crown; hereupon he recalls all such Lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully usur-

ped.

Together what was wont to be idly given away, as forfeitures, escheats, and wards, were restrained to the Crown and

kept to the King himself.

There remained upon considerations of increasing the Demess of the Crown, the Lands of the Earl of March, whose Father had rebelled against the Kings Father Robert; though saults be personal, and not hereditary and the heirs of ancient houses hold little of their last possessions, but of their Predecessours, those the King seased on. The Earl proved by good evidences and writings brought forth, his Father had been pardoned for that fault by the Regents of the Kingdom;

he was answered again, that it was not in the Regents power to pardon an offence against the State, and that it was expressly provided by the Laws in crimes of lesse majesty that children should undergo punishment for their Fathers transgressions, to the end that being thus heirs to their Fathers rashness, as they are to their Goods and Lands, they should not at any time with valt ambition in the haughty Pride of their own power, plot or practice to shake and tear the Publick Peace of the Prince and Countrey.

Thus was the remission by the Parliament declared void, and Earl George himself committed to the Castle at Edenbrough. William Earl of Angus Warden of the Middle March, William Chreighioun Chancellour, Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailles immediately received the Castle of Dumbar, the keeping of which

was given to Sir Adam Hepburn.

The King not long after fet Earl George at Liberty, and to fave him from the likedangers which were wont to befall his Predecessours (to fly into England for every small cross and light displeasure at Court he bestowed on him, as it were in exchange, for these lands in the Mars, the Earldom of Bachan in the North, with a yearly pension to be paid out of the Earl-dome of March, setting the Tay and the Forth betwixt him and his too kind friends of England. Buchan had faln to the King by the deceale of John who was Son to Robert the second and Earl of Buchan, He was flain at Vernueill in France, with the Marshall Duglass, and left no lawfull children after him to succeed. The Earldome of Marre was incorporate also to the Demesn Royall by the decease of Alexander Stuart Earl of Marre, who was natural Son to Alexander Stuart who was the Son of Robert the fecond. He was a Man of fingular prowels, and in his youth followed the warres under Philip Duke of Burgundy; he married Jane Daughter to the Earl of Holland, and had greatly oblieged his Countrey by transporting Stallions and Mares hither out of Hungary, the Stood of which continued long after to his Commendation and the commodity of the Kingdome.

The Earldom of Strathern was appropriated also to the Crown by the Decease of David Stuart Earl of Strathern, Uncle to the King, who having but one onely Daughter (who was married to Patrick Graham a younger Brother of the Lord Grihams) the Earldom being railed to the Masculine Line was divolved again to the Crown. Thus did King James succeed to three Brothers who were Sons to Robert the second.

All Good men with these proceedings of the King were well pleased; for it Princes could keep their own, and that which justly belongeth unto them, they could not be urged to draw such extraordinary Subsidies from the blood, sweat, and tears

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of their people, yet was this the Shelf on which this Prince perished: for, many who were accustomed to be Copartners of such off-fallings, began to storm and repine at his actions, but none was so implacable as Robert Graham, Uncle and Tutor to Miles Graham, the son of Eupheme, daughter to David Earl of Strathern. For plotting mischief, he began to rail, speak in high terms, associate himself with others of his own mind. Notwithstanding that the King Anno 1428. in september had bestowed on his Nephew the Lands and Earldoon of Monteeth in compensation of that of Strathern, to which he pretended right, it being an appenage of the Crown.

About this time Embassadors came into Scotland from Eriens the King of Denmark, requiring of King James the payment of a yearly Tribute, which was due to him as King of Normay for the Western Isles, according to the Covenant and Agreement made by Alexander the third. King of Scotland, and his Predecessor Magnus, the son of Acho, then King of Normay; the Embassador was honorably received, and Sir William Creighton Chancellor, directed to go with him to Denmark, who there reduced the old League between the Realms, settled questionable matters, and confirmed a persect amity and stedsast

Peace

Embassadors came also from Charles the French King, not on'y to confirm the old Amity between Scotland and France, but for a better assurance thereof, to have Margaret eldest Daughter to King James (already betrothed to Lewis the Danlphin, who now was thirteen years of Age) delivered to them and convoyed to France. The English foreknowing this Alliance, had before fent the Lord scrope with other Affociates to Him in Embassage, to have the old League between the French and the Scots dissolved, and to joyn the Kings Daughter in Marriage with Henry the fixth their King 3 promising if the King would thereunto agree, and joyn in League with them, that the Town and Castle of Berwick should be delivered to the Power of the Scots, with all the Lands lyand between Tweed and the Rederofs, which when William the Conquerour granted Cumberland to the Scots, marched England and Scotland, and is now a fragment of a Cross in Richmond-shire, neer the Spittle on Stanmoore about which is nothing but a wilde defert.

Having Audience, the Lord scrope spake before the Counfell to this purpose:

Business, which concerneth the Honour and profit of the two Kingdoms above any other which can be projected; and it is the establishing of a perpetual Peace and Concord between them

them, and happily (when it shall please the higher Providence) their uniting in one Body, under one Prince, one day. How vaintheattempting of this hererofore by Arms hath proved, the world can but too well bear wirness; the many proofs of eithers valour against themselves having been but a lavish effufion of humane Blood; the fairest way, the easiest means to make enmities cease and these ancient Quarrels, was begun. Sir, in your Person, by the happy Marriage of the Daughter-of John Duke of Sommerfet, brother to King Henry the fourth, and Son to the Duke of Lancafter; and prosperously hath continued these years past: Now that Peace may be latting, and the affections and minds of the two Nations foldered together, our Request is, that this Alliance may be again renewed, by the Marriage of your eldest Daughter with our young King, a most firting and equal match. And in feeking of her, we crave but our own; She is descended of our Royal Stem, and if again she be ingrafted in that stock out of which she sprang, it is but natural. And you (my Lords) where can ye find a Match more Honorable for both Nations? Where can ye finde a better and more profitable Friendship then ours? Are we not a people in habiting one Island, have we not both one Language, are we not of like Habit and Fashion, of like quality and condition of life, guarded and separated from the other World by the great depths of the Ocean? What evil Customs have come into your Country by your last Allyance with us? Nay what Ci vility, Policy, and laudable Fashions (to the confusion of Barbarity) have not followed hereupon? By this the Glory of both Realms will encrease, either being sufficient not only to furnish necessaries, but even all lawfull and moderate contentments of life to support others. Besides that, an assurance of Defence, Strength and Power to invade, ease in undergoing publick Charges will hereby follow.

We are not ignorant that your Lady is designed for France; but how long (alas) will ye continue prodigal of your blood for the French? What have ye advantaged your selves by your Alliance with France, save that they engage your bodies in their Wars, and by conferring upon you unprofitable titles of honour, take from you what is truly real? ye are reserved a Postern-gate, by which they may enter England, diverting our Forces, and transporting the Stage of the War upon our Borders. Learn to forget your French, or it ye be so enamoured with France, Love her after our manner; Come take a share, be partakers of our Victories. Are not our Forces being joyned, sufficient to overcome, nay bring in chains hither that King of Bruges, and make our selves Masters of his Continent? France never did so much good to Scotland in twenty years, as Scotland hath had loss by England for the love and cause of France in

one. Are not your wounds at Vernueil and Cravant yet bleeding, and all for the French? It hath been your valour, and not the French which heretofore empeached our conquest and progress in France: were it not for your fwords, we had made ere now the lottiest tops of the Alps or Pyrenees bear our Trophies. Ye fav ye reverence, and cannot break your old league and confederation with that Kingdom (happy Leagues, but wo to the keepers of them !) unhappy Scotland, and too too honest; and the more unhappy for that thy honesty is the great cause of thy mishaps. Howlong shall that old league (counted amongst the Fables of the Ancient Falladines ) make you waste your lives, goods, fortunes, and lofe your better Friends? The Genius of this Isle seemeth to cry unto us her Nurselings to stay our cruel hands, no longer to be her desolation, and the wrack one of another; not to pals over and neglect thele fair occasions of mutual Alliances, which will not only effectuate Truces and Leagues amongst our selves, but at last bring a perpetual Peace and Union; for by interchange of Marriages (being united) this Isle shall continue stronger by entertaining Peace and Amity, then by all these Giant walls, Rampiers of Mountains, and that huge ditch of Seas, by which Nature hath environed and fortified her. Now that ye may know how dearly we esteem your Friendship and Alliance, whereas others go to take from you, we will give you Roxburgh, Berwick, and all the lands between Tweed and Redcross. If shadows prevail and prove stronger with you then essential reason, and that ye disesteem our offer, losing this good occasion; we as Neighbours and Friends entreat you, that ye do not uphold the French, now in the Sun-fet of their Fortunes, and at their weakest; that ye would not shoulder this falling Wall; but that ye would live quiet within your felves, keep. ing your own in a Neutrality; receiving both fides, French and English in the way of Friendship, neither side in the way of Faction. "

The French Embassadour spoke to this purpose. It seemeth strange to me that it should be questioned and fall within the Circle of deliberation whether old, ever true and assured Friends; or old, never trusted, and only Enemies, should in an honourable suit be preferred: whether ye should stand to a Nation which in your greatest calamities never abandoned you, or embrace and be carryed away with one which hath ever sought your overthrow. The English sue for your alliance and friendship, but it is to make you leave your old confederates, and turn the instruments of their ruin, and at last ting the youk of bondage upon your selves. The French sue for your seasons to your selves alliance, both to support themselvs & hold servitude from the serve not your friendship with France, their power, policy and

number had long ere these daies over-turned your Realm; or had France but shown her self an indifferent Arbitress, of the blowes between Scotland and England, ye had scarce till now kept your Name, less your Liberties; can ye prove so ungrateful as not to supply them who supported you? Can ye prove so unconstant, after so many glorious wounds received in the defence of France, as cowardly to turn your backs upon her in her greatest need, defacing all the straces of your former same and glory? with what countenances could ye look upon those Scots, which at Vernueill and Cravant in the Bed of honour lest their Lives, if unrevenged ye should adhere and join your selves to their Enemies and Killers? Now though ye would forsake the French, at this time intangled in many difficulties, not regarding their well being, nor be solicitous of their standing: at least be carefull of your own.

It cannot subsist with your well and safety, to suffer a bordering Nation, alwaies at enmity with you, to arise to that height and power by such an addition as is the Kingdom of France: So soon as a State hath a Neighbour strong enough and able to subdue it, it is no more to be esteemed a freee Estate. The English are already become so potent that no less than united forces of Neighbour Kingdomes will serve to stop the current of their fortune. Neglect not the certain love of the French, your often tryed and antient friends for the uncertain striendship and within a little time, forgotton Al

liances of the English your late reconciled Enemies.

But it may be, after mutual marriages have one day joined your two Kingdomes in one, they will seek no preheminency over your State, nor make thrall your Kingdome, but be knit up with you in a perfect union: Do not small brooks lose their Names when they commix their Streams with mighty Rivers, and are not Rivers ingolfed when they mingle their waters with the Seas? Teenjoy now a kind of mixed Government (my Lords) not living under absolute Soveraignty; your King proceedeth with you more by Prayers and requests than by Precepts and Commandements, and is rather your Head than Soveraign, as ruling a Nation not conquered: But when ye shall be joined in a Body with that Kingdom which is absolutely royal and purely Monarchical, having long suffered the Laws of a Conquerour, ye shall find a change and a terrible transformation. The free mannaging of your own affairs shall be taken from you; Laws, Magistracies, Honours shall depend on them, the wealth of your Kingdom (ball be transferred to theirs; which to abey and prostrate your selves unto, if ye be found stubborn, ye shall suffer as a Nation conquered, be redacted in a Province, have Deputies and Governours Set over you, Garrisons in your strongest bolds and Castles, and by a Calm of Peace and Union receive more fearfull-blowes than ye could have suffered by any Tempest of war , The miseries of a most lamentable Servitude. What courtefie can je exf tt at their hands, who contrary to all divine and human Laws detained your King eighteen eighteen years prisoner, and besides an exorbitant Ransom (as if he had been taken in a lawfull war) did not without Hostages send him home? We of France did never for sake you in your extremities, and we expect ye will assist us with all your power. They are in suit of your Daughter, but it is long after she was assured unto us; in claiming her we claim but our own, this time past ye have only had the custody and education of her, yet if they be so ambitious of your Alliance, God hath blessed you with more than this. But it is not that which they sue for, it is to make you disclaim your Friends, hate those which love you, and love them which hate you: and they are working upon you as upon a rude unpossible people. They offer to render you Berwick and Roxbrough, these gifts of Enemies are to be feared; they know it is in their own power to re-obtain them when they please.

As for that point wherein they would have you indifferent Spectators of the blowes, and that it shall be profitable for you not to meddle with this Warre, ye are too near engaged; neither is there any thing can be more damm igeable unto you; for, if ye be not of the party, ye may assure your selves that your countrey shall remain a Prey and Reward to the Conquerour, with content and applause of the vanquished, who is not bound to succour those who refused to assist and belp him in his necessities. Prove sirm and constant to me your first Confederates, combine your forces with ours, and by the assistance of that supreme providence who pittieth at last the oppressed, we have fair certainties and true hopes to cut so much work abroad to the English, that they shall do little or no harm to you at

Home,

The King and Noblesthough it seemed more profitable for the present time to follow the English (weighing their offers) yet held it more advantageous and sure for comming times, to tollow the French, for it the English should make conquest of France, the conquest of Scotland would scarce be one Moneths work to their power? and for matter of allyance, God knows how little Princes regard it, when occasion is offered to enlarge their power and Dominion. Thereupon they declare they will not break the antient League and Peace they have kept with France.

The English Ambassadours denyed of their suit, went from Prayers and Requests to threatnings and menacings, and having triendship resused, denounced war. If the King gave his Daughter to the French, that they, if they could, would hinder her passage by Sea, having already a Fleet prepared to this effect, and thus went away the English Ambassadours.

The King was so far from being moved by these threatnings, that immediately he made ready his Shipps, and knowing more affairs to be brought to a good end and finished by the

opportunity occasions than force and power, with an able Company of Marriners and Souldiers setteth his Daughter to Sea.

The English fleet had waited upon her, but (Providence so appointing) she escaped them, and they encountred a fleet of spaniards keeping their course towards the Netherlands. Them they beset with sourscore Vessels, commanding the Ladies and all of their Company to be delivered unto them; when they would not accept of friendly answers, they fall to handy blows, till in end by loss of men and some Ships they understood their errour: The Lady Margaret thus without danger by the Western Seas arrived at Rochell, having for her convoy a whole Colony of Gentle-women (the Histories say an hundred and sourty went with her) all of noble parentage, of which train were her sive Sisters: from Rochel she held her progress to Tours, there with an extraordinary Pomp, and magnificence the 24. of June, Anno 1436 was she marryed to the Daulphin Lewis.

The King to defray the charges raised by transporting and marriage of his Daughter (the French seeking with her small or or no Dowry (these times preferring parentage and beauty before Gold or riches) all that was craved being a supply of Men of Arms for their Support against the English) laid a Subsidie on his Subjects, the one half of which being levied, and the people grudging and repining at the exacting of the other half, (it being taken from men who lived hardly in a barren soys) He caused render a part of it again and discharged

the remainder.

At this time by Sea and land the English in revenge of the tefusal of the offers of their Ambassadours began to use all Hostility against the Scots. Henry Piercy of Northumberlandinvadeth the Countrey with four thousand men; whether of his own Bravery, abhorring ease and idleness, or that he had a Commission so to do, is uncertain, with him came Sir Henry Clyddesdale, Sir John Ogle, Richard Peircy, and many men of choice and worth, the frontier Garrisons invade all places neer unto To refift these incursions William Dowglaß Earl of Anguß getteth charge, a man resembling his Ancestors in all virtues either of War or Peace, and the most eminent of his time: with him went Adam Hepburne of Hails, Alexander Elphinstonn of Elphinstoun in Lothion, and Alexander Ramsey of Dalhowsie, of all being four thousand strong. These covetous of glory, besides the ancient quarrel of the two Nations, having the particular emulations of the Names and Valour of their Ancestors to be spurs unto them, make speedy journeys to have a proof of their vertue and courage. The Lifts of their meeting was Popperden, a place not far from Bramstown, Rhodam, Roleden.

seden, Eglinghame, all cheared with the stream of a small Brook. named Brammish, which arising out of the Cheviot, loseth its name in the Till, as the Till after many windings difgorgeth it telf in the I weed. Adam Hepburn and Alexander Elphinstoun led the Van-guard of the Scots; Sir Richard Piercy, Sir John Ogle of the English; Alexander Ramsey and Henry Cliddisdail kept the Rears; the two Generals road about the Armies, remembring them of their ancient valour, the wrongs received, the justness of the Quarrel, the glory of the Victory, the shame of the overthrow. No sooner were they come within distance of joyning when the found of the Drums and Trumpets was out-noyfed by the shouts of the Assailants, who furiously ren-countred. The Guns being about this time found out, were here first practifed between the Scots and the English in an open field. When the fight with equal order had been long maintained on both sides, now the Scots, then the English yielding ground, many of the Commanders at length began to fall, most of the English. Then was the Piercy constrained to be at once Commander and Souldier, but ere he could be heard some Companies had turned their backs, among the thickest throngs of which breaking in, he found so great disorder, that neither by Authority, Intreaty or Force he was able to stay their flying. Thus distracted between the two courses of honour and shame, he is hurried far from the place of Fight: And Victory declared her felf altogether for the scots; which was not fo great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of some brave men. Of the Scots two hundred Gentlemen and common Souldiers were flain, amongst which was Alexander Elphinstoun, maintaining the Battel with his fword, voice and wounds, and two other Knights. Of the English died, Sir Henry Cliddisdail, Sir John Ogle. Sir Richard Piercy, with fifteen hundred Gentlemen and Common Souldiers, of which fourty were Knights, four hundred were taken Prisoners.

The King irritated by the way-laying of his Daughter, the invading of his Borders, and encouraged not a little by this little smile of Fortune at Popperden, it being more sure to prevent then repel dangers, and with the same Policies to detend by which the Enemies offend, resolveth by open wars to invade England. He was also stirred unto this by his intelligence from his friends in France, who had brought greater matters to pass then in so short a time could have been expected; for concealed envy and old malice, bursting out between Richard Duke of Tork, and Edmund Duke of Sommer/et, Philip Duke of Rurgundy being entred in friendship with King Charls, the English began to be daily losers, and were put out of Paris and many Towns of France. To this effect King James having raised an Army cometh to Roxburgh (a Place satal to his) and there besiegeth

the Castle of Marchmond, which is Roxburgh, it was valiantly defended by Sir Ralph Gray: but when he was come so near the end of his labours that they within the Castle-were driven to terms of Agreement and conditions for giving up the Fort the Queen in great haste commeth to the Camp, representing to her Husband a Conspiracy, the greatness of the peril of which, if it were not speedily prevented, should endanger his Estate, Person and Race. Whether she had any inckling of the Conspiracy indeed, or contrived this to divert his Forces from the Assault, and further harm of the English her Friends and Coun. trymen, it is uncertain. The King who found his imagination wounded upon this point, after many doubtful resolutions and conflicts in his thoughts, raiseth the Siege, disbandeth the Army, and accompanied with some cholen Bands of his most affured Fii nds returneth back, to provide for his own fafety. A strange resolution, to disband an Army for a tale of Treason, where could there be greater fafety for a King then in an Army? Yet have Conspiracies been often in Camps, and in his own Time, Richard Earl of Cambridge, brother to Edward Duke of Tork, Henry Lord Scrcope, with Sir Thomas Gray, Knight, at the instigation of the Daulphine of France, for a great sum of money conspired to murther Henry the Fifth, King of England, in the midst of his Armies, if they had not been surprised. King feared all, because he had not yet heard the names of any, but most the Army, by reason of the Nobility, many of which, who liked not the present form of Government, were irritated against Him. Were the Conspiracy a Rebellion, and in general by them all, they were ready in Arms to maintain their factions, and if upon suspicion the King should attach any (being fecretly joyned in a league) He could hardly have medled with their persons, without a Civil War, which in regard of his Engagement with England he endeavoured to spare; perplexed, pensive, sad, he cometh to Perth, stayeth in the Covent of the Dominicans, named the Black-Friers (a place not far from the Town Wall) endeavouring to fecretly as was politible to finde out the Conspiracy. But his close practifing was not unknown to the Conspirators, as that there was more peril to resolve then execute a Treason, a distance of time between the Plot and execution, discovering and overthrowing the enterprise: Hereupon they determine to hazard on the mischief, before tryal or remedy could be thought upon.

The Conspirators were Robert Graham, Uncle and Tutor to Miles Graham, Robert Stuart, Nephew to Walter Earl of Athole, and one of the Kings sworn Domesticks: But he who gave motion to all, was the Earl of Athole himself, the Kings Fathers. Brother, whose quarrel was no less then a pretended title and claim to the Crown; which he formed and alledged thus. His

Brother David and he were procreated by King Robert the second on his first wife Eupheme Ross daughter to the Earl of Ross, and therefore ought and should have been preferred to the succession of the Crown, before King John (named Robert) and all the Race of Elizabeth Moor, who was but his second wife,

and next them but Heirs to King Robert the fecond.

They were the eldeft fons of King Robert after he was King, John and Robert being born when he was but in a private State, and Earl of strathern; for it would appear, that as a Son born after his Father hath lost his Kingdom, is not esteemed for the Son of a King, so neither he that is born before the Father be a King. These reasons he thought sufficient, the King taken away, to fet him in the room of State. But confidered not how facred the name of King is to the Scots Nation; how a Crown once worn quite taketh away what defects foever : and that it was not easie to divest a King in present possession of a Crown, who had his right from his Father and Grandfather, with the Authority of a Parliament, approving his Descent, and feeluding all other; less came it in his thought, that those children are legitimate, and lawfull which cannot be thrust back and rejected, without troubling the common Peace of the Country, and opening Gates to Forreign Invasions, Domestical disturbances, and all disorders, with an unsetled course of Succeffion: the Common errour making the Right or Law.

Athole animated by the Oracle of a Sooth-Cayer of his Highland Countrey, who had affured him he should be crowned in a Solemn Assembly before his Death, never gave over his hopes of obtaining the Crown: and being inferiour and weak in power and faction to the other Brothers, to compass his defigns he betaketh himself to treacherous devices. It was not in his power to ruine so many at once; for mischief required there should be distance between so many bloody Acts, therefore he lay eth his course for the taking away of his kindred one by another at leasure; he soweth jealousies, entertaineth discords; maintaineth factions amongst them; by his counfell David Duke of Rothefay, the Kings eldest Brother, was fami-(then a child) thed in the Tower of Falkland, neither had James (then a child) escaped his treachery, if far off in England he had not been preserved: He perswaded the Earl of Fife, that, making out of the way the King his brother, he should put the Crown on his own head: He trafficked the return of King James, and he being come, he plotted the overthrow of Duke Mordock, by fit instrument for such a business, proving the Crimes laid against him in the Attaindor, hehimself sat Judge against him Thus stirring one of the Kinsemen and his Children. against another, he so enfeebled the Race of Elizabeth Moore, that of a numerous off-spring there only remained James and

his Son (a childenot yet fix years of Age) upon whose Sepulchers building his designs, with a small alteration of the State,

he thought it an easie step to the Crown.

Robert Graham had been long imprisoned, at last released; but being a man implacable once offended, and cruel, whom neither benefits could oblige, nor dangers make wise, an enemy to Peace, Factious and Ambitious alike, by many wicked Plots afterwards, and Crimes against the Laws of the Country, driven to an Out-lawry, and to live as banished, he had ever a male-talent against the King since the adjudging of the

Earldom of Strathern from his Nephew Miles.

Robert Stuart was very familiar with the King, and his access to his Chamber and Person advanced the Enterprise: being a riotous young Man, gaping after great matters, neither respecting Faith nor Fame, and daring attempt any thing for the accomplishing of his own foolish hopes, and his Grandsathers ayms and ambition. These having associated unto them the most audacious, whom either fear of punishment for their misdeeds, or hopes of preferment by a change of the Government, would plunge into any enterprise, in the Moneth of February, so secretly as was possible, assembled together, where the Earl spake to this sense unto them.

These engagements which every one of you have to another, and which I have to every one of you, founded on the strongest grounds of consanguinity, friendship, interest of committed and received wrongs, move me freely here to reveal my secret drifts, and dis-

cover the depths of my bidden purposes and counsels.

The strange Tragedies which in the State and Government have been acted, fince the coming of this English man to the Crown, are to none of you unknown: Mordock with his children hath been bebeaded, the Earl of Lennox his Father in Law had that same end, the Nobility repine at the Government of their King, the King is in jealousse of his Nobles, the Commons are in way of Rebellion-These all have been the effects of my far-mining Policies. And hitherto they have fallen forth as fortunately, as they were ingeniously plotted. For, what more ingenious and cunning Stratagem could be projected, to decline the rank growth of these Usurpers, then to take them away by handles made of their own Timber? And if there was any wrong in such proceedings in small matters wrong must be done. that justice and equity may be performed in great. My fear was (and yet is ) that the taking down of the Scaffold of Mordock should be the putting up of ours: Crowns suffer no corrivals, the world knows, and he himself is conscious to it . that the right and title of the Crown, by descent of blood from Robert the second my Father, was in the person of David my Brother, and is justly claimed now by me and our Nephew. As for an Act of Parliament confirming the right of that other Race, and for eaths of Allegiance, no Parlia-

mentary Authority can take away Justice, and the Law of God: neither is an oath to be observed when as it tendeth to the Suppression of truth and right; and though for a time such Acts and oaths have prevailed, our designs having good Success we shall have a Parliament approving our right, abolishing their pretensions, and declaring them Ulurpers. This one man and a child taken away (if we can give the blow) the Kingdome must obey the Lawfull Successor; against whom what Subject will revolt, or who dare take arms? and here is more fear than danger. But think there were, the onely remedie of emminent dangers is new dangers. It was simplicity in him to think by small benefits that old injuries are abolished and forgot, and that I should take patiently the title of Earl, when I should have been King my self ; by his tyrannizing justice, if he be not hated he is not beloved but become terrible to his people, who now through their poverty and Grievances affect a novation and obey bim not out of any affection, but through necessity and fear, and now he also feareth that some do that to him which he hath deserved.

Let us resolve his doubts, our ends are honour and revenge our wills against him all alike and one. The Heavens seem to conspire with us, having brought him to disband his Army, and render himself in the wished place of our attempts; and let us rather follow them and fortune, which favours great actions, than vertue that preacheth cowardly Patience; Remembring how fair glosses of valour for the most part have been cast on the foulest deeds, and the mightest Families have from them derived their honours, Shame seldom or never following Victory, however it be atchieved and purchased. Soveraignty at the first was but a violent nsurpation of the Stronger over the weaker. How great Enterprizes must begin with danger, but end with rewards, that death should rather be prevented than expected, and that it is more hon wrable to dy than prolong a life in misery, wandring in the scorn of other mens pride, be resolute in our Plot, put the enterprize in execution, hast is the spirit of actions of danger, the worst that can befall us is, since we cannot subsist he being alive, that he be taken away whilft we run a hazard of death, which happeneth to all men alike, with only the difference of Fame or Oblivion with the Posterity, which ariseth of an evil action, as well of a good, if the action and attempt be great, but letus not spend the time of execution in deliberation.

Not long after when they had ponderated and digested the Design, Graham and Stuart with their accomplices guided by Resolution, and guarded by the darkness of the Night, came to the Black Fryers of Pearth, and having the way made open unto them entered the Gallery before the Kings Chamber-door, where they attended some of their confederates, who should have stoln away the Barr, by which means they might enter the Chamber, but before their comming Fortune casteth the

occasion in their hands.

For Walter Stratoun one of the Kings Cupbearers came torth of the Chamber, and finding armed men rushing rudely to sorce their entrie, territyed with the boldness of the fact, with a high voice gave the Alarum of Treason to his Master. While they are working his death, a Maid of honour of the Name of Dowglass got to the door, and estaied to shut it, but for that the Bar was now away which should have made it fast, she thrust her arm in the place where it should have passed, but that easily broken, the Conspiratours rush in to the Chamber, and slaying all such of the waiters as made defence (amongst which was Patrick Dumbar Brother to George sometime Earl of March) they at last stroke down the King; whom, whilst the Queen by interposing her body sought to save (being hardly pulled from him) she received two wounds, and he with twenty eight, most towards the heart, was left dead.

Thus was King James the first who had so superabundantly deserved well of the Common-wealth, murthered the 21. of February in the end of the year 1436 the 44. of his age when he

had reigned 13. years.

This King was for the proportion and shape of his body of a middle stature, thick and square, rather somewhat mean than tall, not fuch as is counted for dainty, but for gracefulnesse and Majesty. His hair was abourn, a colour between white and red. He was of so strong and vigorous a constitution, that he was able to endure all extraordinary extremities both of travail and want, and furpassed for agility and nimbleness in any exercise his companions. He was of fo sharp and pregnant a wit that there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit confifted or any shadow of the liberal arts did appear, that he had not applied his mind unto: seeming rather born to Letters than instructed. He wrote Verses both Latine and English, of which many yet are extant: He exercised all Instruments of Musick, and equalled the best Protessours thereof. He had studied all Philosophy, but most that which concerns Government; in which what a Master he was the order which he established in fuch a confusion as he found in the Statedoth wirness; and many old Laws commodiously renewed and amended, others for the publick good established. He was a great observer of religious forms: easie for access, fair in speech and countenance, in behaviour kind, using sleep and meat to live, not for voluptuoutnets. He had good command over his Passions, his desires never being above his reason, nor his hopes inferiour to his defires. Though he was much obliged to the gifts of Nature, wet was he more to his good education and training in Englands Scarce had he passed the nineth year of his age when he was committed to the Sea to shun the Treasons of his Unele, and was surprized at Flambrough-head in Holderness. Windsor Cattle

Ann.Dom. 1436.

kept him a Prifoner, but by Commandment of King Henry he was to carefully instructed that no Prince could have been better bred in the Schools of Europe. What his valour was, the wa's of France bear witness: for accompanying the King of England there, he layed fiege to the Town of Direx, and with fuch violence and valour (faith the English History) affaulted it for the space of fix weeks, that with main strength he compelled it to be rendred to his hands, and gave it to King Henry. That commendation which was given him by that same King of England. being recorded by their writers, proved prophetically true of him. For the King remembring him of his benefits received. and promifing him greater, with free liberty to return to his own Countrey, if he could cause the Scots who were adherent to the Daniphin of France to return to their native foyl and leave him; To this he answered, He was a Prisoner, had no possession of his Realm that he was neither fworn to his Subjects, nor they by any Oath of Allegiance bound to him; and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his commandment he would forefee whether it were to him honourable, and to his Real m honest to leave their Old Friend of France in his extrem ne coffey without aid or comfo t. With this answer, though the King was not content, when James went out of his presence, he is recorded to have faid, Happy shall they be which shall be subjects to a King endued with (ncb w fdom of fotender years of age. Histeverity in Justice was traduced by some under terms of cruelty, but confidering the Disorders of his Countrey, by the fierce na. ture of the People over whom he ruled, who by often Rebellions did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrain him to keep them in aw his rigour was rather an effect of necessity than of his natural disposition. No Prince did more reverently entertain Peace at Home amongst his Subjects, nor more willingly conclude the same among t Strangers. There is no Prince more cruel than he, who by a facility and evil meafured pirty, fuffers Robberies, Rapes, Murthers, and all fort of oppression and abuses to overturn his Countrey, by which a whole State is interessed, when the strictest Justice toucheth but some particular persons. By him abuses were reformed. defects repaired, sedition and discord was put from the Nobles, equity and industry restored to the Countrey, every man had a certainty of enjoying his own and security. Into all Men was either infused a will to do well, or a necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes punished. The mean man did respect the great, not fear hims the great man did precede the mean, not contemn him; favour was mastered by equity, Ambition by Virtue: for the excellent Prince by doing well himself had taught his subjects fo to do.

He was one of the worthiest of all the Kings of scotland till his time, of the former Kings it might have been said. The Nation made them Kings, but this King made that People'a Nation. He lest behinde him one Son and six Daughters, King James the second, Margarite wife to Lewis the elevents, King of Brance, Elizabeth Dutchess of Bretaigne, Jane first of Angus, and then Countess of Huntley, Elenora married to Sigis mond, Archduke of Austria, Mary wife to the Lord of Camphire, and Annabella; he was buried in the Charter-honse of Perth which he had founded, where the Doublet in which he was slain was kept almost to our Time as a Relict, and with executions seen of the People, every man thinking himself interested in his

wrong.

The rumour of his Murther blazed abroad, it is incredible what weeping and forrow was through all the Countrey, for even by them to whom his Government was not pleasant, he was deplored, and the act thought execrable. The Nobles of their own accordand motion from all parts of the Kingdome affembled and came to Edenbrough, and ere they consulted together (as if they had all one mind ) directed troups of armed men through all the quarters of the Kingdome, to apprehend the Murtherers and produce them to Justice. Such diligence was used ( grief and anger working in their minds) that within the space of fourty daies all the Conspiratours were taken and put to shameful deaths. The common fort, as Christopher Clawn or Cahown and others, that were of the Council in the Conspiracy, having had art or part in the plot were hanged on Gibbets. The chief Actors, that the Commonwealth might publickly receive fatisfaction, were made spectacles of Justice by exquisite torments, the punishment of Athole was continued three daies: on the first he was stript naked to his shirt, and by a Crane fixed in a Cart, often hoised aloft, diljointed, and hanging shown to the People, and thus dragged along the great Street of the Town; on the second day he was mounted on a Pillar in the Market place, he was crowned with a Diadem of burning Iron, with a Plachart bearing. The King of all Trayters, thus was his Oracle accomplished; on the third he was laid naked along upon a Scaffold, his Belly was ript up, his heart and Bowels taken out and thrown in a fire flickering before his eyes. Laftly, his head was cut off and fixed in the most eminent place of the Town, his body sent in quarters to the most populous Cities of the Kingdom to remain a Trophie of Justice,

His Nephew Robert Stuart was not altogether so rigorously handled, for that he did but consent to others wickedness, be-

ing only hang'd and quarter'd.

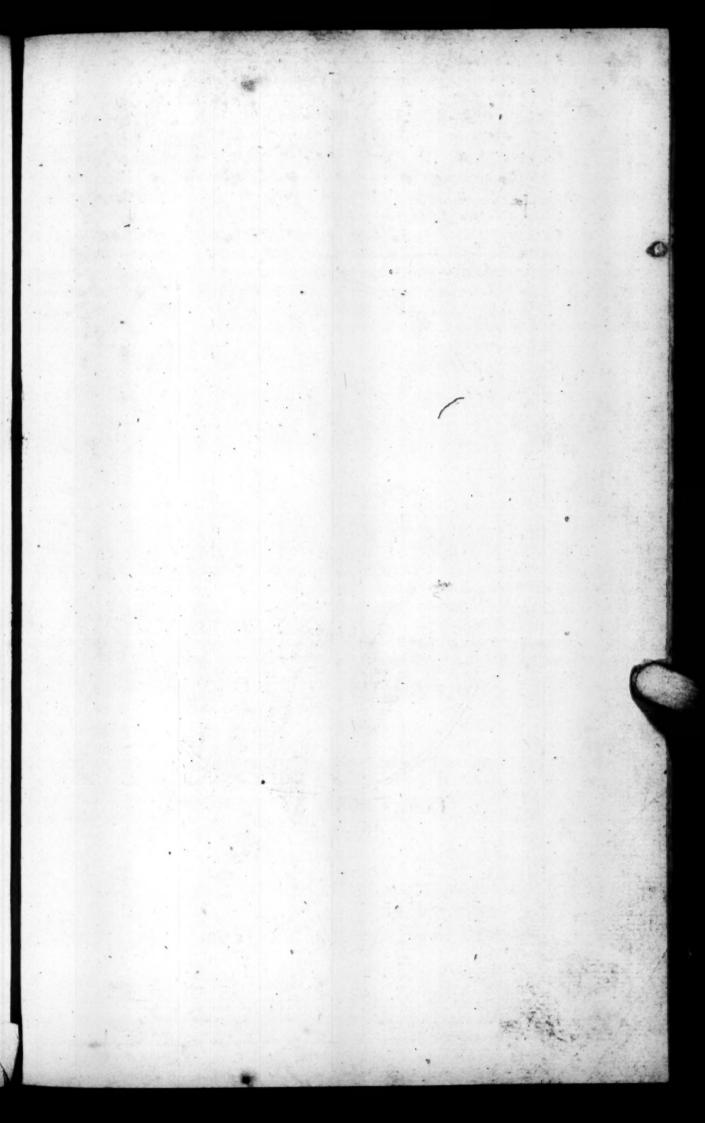
But for that it was notorious Robert Graham had embrued his

hands in the Kings bloud, a Gallows being railed in a Cart he had his right hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the Street, Executioners with burning Pincers, tearing the most sleshy parts off his Carcass, being nip'd, torn and flay'd his heart and entrails were thrown in a fire, his head exalted, and his Quarters sent amongst the Towns, to satisfy the wrath and sorrow of the injured people; being asked during his torture how he dared put hand in his Prince, he made answer, that having Heaven and Hell at his choice, he dared leap out of Heaven and all the contentments thereof, in the slaming bottomes of Hell, an answer worthy such a Traytor.

Eneas Sylvius then Legate in Scotland for Pope Engenius the fourth (after Pope himself) having seen this sudden and terrible Revenge, being a witness of the Execution, said he could not tell whether he should give them greater commendations that revenged the Kings death, or brand them with sharper condemnation that distain'd themselves with so hainous a

Parricide.

The





TAMES: King of Scotes



## HISTORY Reign of Iames the second,

SCOTLAND.



Carce were the tears dryed for the loss of the Father when the three Estates of the Kingdom meet, and at Holy-rood-House, set the Crown upon the head of the Son, then a child in the fixth year of his age. The Government of the Realm is trusted to Six Alexander Levingstonn of Calendar, the custody of the Kings person with the Castle of Edenbrough are given

to the Chancelor Sir William Creightoun, Men for that they had been ever faithful to the Father, without apparent vices, of no capacity to succeed, nor entertaining aspiring thoughts for a Diadem, held worthy of these charges and dignities. Good men may secure themselves from Crimes but not from envy and calumnies; for men great in trust in publick affairs are ever as saulted by the ambition of those who apprehend they are less in imployment than they conceive they are in meric.

Archembald Earl of Dowglass grudging mightily that the State
had bestowed those honours upon men far inferiour to him, as

1654.

though by this the many merits of his Ancestours had been for. gotten, and his own services neglected; They being ever accustomed in times of Peaceto be nearest the Helm of the State, and when any danger of war blazed, fent abroad to encounter it. In a confusion of those thoughts being diversly tossed, he retireth to his own Castles, and after great resolves proclaimeth that none of his Vasfals or Tenants, especially within Annandale and Dowglass-Dale (parts remote from the more Civill Towns of the Kingdom) should acknowledg the present Goverment, or obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations wherunto the Governours or Chancelours hands were let. If any question of Law or contention arose amongst his Friends, Vassals, Tenants, He knew none fitter to be their Judge, sentence all their wrongs, attone and take up their quarrels than himfelf. To discover to the world the weakness of the two Rulers and how men never fo well qualified, small in means, and filly of power, were not for great places, he giveth way for the the increasing of evil: overseeing many disorders, of which he was the secret cause, especially the insolencies of vagabounding and ravaging Borderers. Men of purpole fent forth to spoil and rifle the more quiet parts of the Countrey, and to cut work to these strengthless States-men, as he named them. Thus as overcome with floth and pleasure, he passed some moneths amidst Countrey contentments, expecting what effect time would bring forth of the equalauthority of those two Governours; for to fit minds equal in authority to fo even a temper that they should not have some motions of differting, he thought impossible. Neither did this conjecture fail him, the event being the only judge of opinions: for after this the Governour began to jar with the Chancelour for ingroffing wholly to himself from his Partner the person of the King, as an honour which could not altogether be separate from his place, and which would give the greater authority to his proceed. ings; urging, the Chancelour in many other matters had ufurped and taken upon him more than the Parliament granted. The Chancelour was no better affected towards the Governour; what the Governour commanded to be done, he one way or other over-turned. The buildings of the one was by the other demolished: by common and continual brawlings thus living in turmoil, neither of them was obeyed, the Countrey usurped a licentious liberty, every man doing what he thought best for his particular advantage and gain. The remote Villages of the Kingdom are left a prey to the lawless multitude : where their authority is scorned, turn places of robbery; where admitted, places of faction.

The Queen all this time, after her ordinary custom remained in the Castle of sterling. The divisions, partialities, jealousies

of the Rulers, she taketh in an evil part, knowing usually they had a dangerous confequence. She had ever found the Governour fincere and loyal in his proceedings; against his counsel and will her Son was kept from her by the Chancellour whom the great ones hated for possessing the King, for drawing to Offices of best trust and benefit his own creatures, displacing such he suspected to favour his partner in Rule; and the Commons loved him not, as managing every thing after his pleasure to their dammage and loss. Transported by divers motions she at last resolveth to change the Game of State, and by a womanish conceit befool masculine Policy. To effectuate her pur. pose the came to Edenbrough, and by many fair and passionate speeches obtained of the Chancelour to enter the Castle and delight her self some daies with the company of her Son. Then to countenance her plot, the giveth out a pilgrimage intended by her to the white Kirk in Buchan: There will she make offerings for the health of the King, and perform her other vows. The honest States man, who thought it disloyalty to distrust a Queen, and a Mother, whom years had made reverend; and impiety to hinder fuch religious intentions, giveth leave to her felf with some Servants to remain in the Castle, and to transport her houshold stuff and other necessaries after what manner the pleased. In this time the perswardeth the King, wantonly fet and delighting to be obsequious to Her his Mother, to be handsomely couched in a Trunk, as if he had been some fardel of her apparel, and convoyed by one of her trustiest Servants upon a Sumpter horse to Leith: from whence he was put forward by water to Sterling, there received by the Governor, and wel-comed with great joy and laughter, at the manner of their so quaintly deceiving the grave Man.

By this advantage the Reins of Rul, were now taken by the Governour; The Queens Trick is approved, his own proceedings are strengthned and confirmed. Proclamations are made against the Chancellour, and he charged to render the Castle of Edenbrough to the King: which he refusing to do, by a great power raised by the Governour of the Countrey, and the Queens, and his own followers, he is befieged and blocked up

within the Castle.

The Chancellour ready to fall in the danger, confidering he had to do with too strong a party, imploreth the assistance of the Earl of Dowglass: but the Earl as a matter he had long expected and earnestly wished might fall forth, resuleth to assist any of them, saying it belonged not to the antient Nobility to succor these Mushrooms, whose ambition with no less could be satisate than the Government of the whole Realm. This distainful answer, procured a meeting of the two Rulers, which concluded in the rendering of the Castle to the Governour, and a ptomise

mise of true friendship between them, that they might not prove a sport to the envious Nobility. The Governour to shew the roundness of his intentions and his honesty, continueth the Chancellour in his office; and restoreth him to the keeping of the Castle of Edenbrough. After this agreement the Earl of Dowglass left this world at Restairing the year 1439 leaving behind him a Son born of the Earl of Crawfords daughter, named William, who succeeded to his Fathers Honours and Ambition.

Malcolm Flamyne of Calmarnade, and Allan Lawder upon this young Earls oath of Allegiance to the Crown of France, obtain to him from the French King the Dutchy of Tourrain, which his Father had enjoyed, and given to Archembald his Grand-Father flain at Vernuell. This forein dignity with histitles at home made the young Man very haughty, and to torget moderation, Discretion in youth seldome attending great fortunes. He surpassed far the King in his followers and Train, being accustomed to have hundreds of Horse menattending him; most of which were Robbers and men living upon unlawful spoils all under his protection: But however thus he seemed to set forth his greatness, this seemed much to bewray a distrust, and that he rather travelled amongst a people which hated him, than a-

mongst his friends and men lovingly disposed.

James Stuart Son to the Lord of Lorne about this time married the Queen Dowager, not so much out of love of her Person or Dowry, as of ambition, by her means intending to reach the Government of the State, and get into his custody the person of the King. And that it might rather feem the work of others out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own, he so infinuateth himself with the Earl of Domglaß, that the Earl effayed to lay the first groundwork of his aims. The Governour who never wanted his own Spies neer the Queen, at the first inkling of this novation committed both him and his Brother William to in the Castle of Sterlin. The Queen whether the followed her Husband, or was restrained, uncertain, staied with them, and now began to repent her of the former courtefies done to the Governour; wishing her Son had yet remained in the custody of the Chancelour, who, not so displeased at their imprifonment as heappeared in outward show (delighting in the errours of his Partner ) by Alexander Earl of Huntley trafficked and wrought their Liberty. Thus infinuating himfelt in the Queens tayour, he irritated her against the Governour: whom yet outwardly he entertained with ceremonies of Friendship, approving his Sagacity in preventing afterm in the State before it brakeforth Here the Governor found how that fame Key which can open a Treasure can shur it up: for after this the Queen prepared her Son for a change. The Governour carefully ministe-

ring

ring Justice at Pearth, the Chancellour one Morning commeth to the Park of Sterling where the King was hunting, by the providence of his Mother more early railed for this sport, she be wailed the present estate of his Court, that he was thralled to the covetouinels and pleasure of others, living under the power of a Man greedy of Rule: that a King of France is declared to be of full years and Major the fourteenth of his age, that a Prince should transfer his affection especially in tender years; thet by an escape he might enjoy a princely freedom, better know himself, and make his Rulers relish his Authority; that three houres was fometimes of more importance than three daies, and one hour of more than all the three; that he should take hold of the present occasion offered him. Prepared with fuch informations he is no sooner accosted by the Chancellour. when approving his motions he posteth towards Edenbrough with him: Received all the way as he went with many companies of the Chancellours friends and attendants. The Govern. our finding the face of the Court altered, by a King young in years and judgement, possessed by his Mother, diffigulating his interest in a patient and calm manner cometh to Edenbrough. there after long conference and mediation of Friends in Saint Giles's Church, he meeteth the Chancellour, and by the Bishop of Murrays and Aberdeens diligence an agreement is between them concluded, which was that the King should remain in the custody of the Chancellour, and the Governour should still enjoy his charge. Amongst these divisions of the Rulers the Queen all this time handsomely kept some authority, affecting and entertaining sometimes the one of them somtimes the other, as by turns they governed the King and

The many and great disorders in the Countrey invited a Parliament: the authority of Magistrates was despised, no justice was administred in many places, few could keep their Goods, or be affured of their Lives, but by taking themselves to the servitude of one Faction or other. Troubles arose in the West by the slaughter of Sir Allane Stuart Lord Durnley, killed by Sir Thomas Boyd; and by the Revenge of his death taken by Alexander Stuart of Bolmet his Brother upon the Boyd; the Highland Islanders invade the Territories adjacent to them, spoyl and burn the Lennox, where John Calbowen of Luß is massacred. These cruelties and insolencies against all justice and authority being avouched such to be were, held fit to be remedied and courses laid down to obviate them : but William Earl of Down. glass permitting wickedness, and wincking at mischief, often approving them for lawful and good policy, whilft he neither reformed them himself by his power, nor suffered the Rulers to proceed against them by their authority spurchased to himfelt the name and reputation of alawless and strong oppressor. The three Estates assembled, complaints being given up against Oppressours, most against him and his Followers, as the source from which the miseries of the Country sprang, he ap-

peareth not, nor any to answer for him.

The Parliament determinateth to proceed by way of Rigour against him; but to this the two Rulers oppose, perswading them that fair speeches and entreaties, was a fafer and easier way to draw unto them a young Man, mighty in riches and power, arrogant by his many Followers and Vaffals, then to give out a Sentence against him before he were heard, and by threatnings stir his turbulent and ambitious thoughts, which instead of making him calm, might turn his neutrality in a perfect Rebellion: and his infolency, in madnels and despair, Nei. ther as the present estate of the Countrey stood, could be without civil blood be commanded and brought in, which by moderation might be effectuate; that verity enjoyed not always that priviledge to be spoken in every place and time; it was good to keep up in filence matters concerning him, the fpeaking of which might produce any dangerous effect. Upon this, Letters in their Name are fent unto him, remembring him of the splender and glory of his Ancestors, the place and dignity he possessed by them in Parliament: that without his presence they neither would nor could proceed in great matters. If he apprehended any cause of let or stay by the offences and disorders committed by his Attendants and Followers, they would freely remit them, as accidents following the injury of thetimes, and his yettender years, his greatest fault being his giving way out of rashness and negligence to the faults of others. That of himself they had conceived such singular hopes of great towardness and all vertues, if he would come and take a part with them, giving in his complaints and grievances, he should not only have full satisfaction, but be honoured with what place or charge in the Government he liked best; by honouring them with his Presence he should oblige not only his Countrey infinitely but particularly every one of them to stand for him to the utmost of their powers and wishes.

This Letter wrought powerfully upon the Minde of the Earl, by nature and years desirous of glory and preferment, and believing easily that which was plausible to his hopes. His friends, who now began to promise to themselves new Heavens, think upon great matters, and forecast to themselves by the change of their Lords Fortune, a change of Offices in the State, perswade him likewise to come to the Parliament; and they divulged the certainty of his Progress. The Chancellour when he understood he was upon his way rode forth of Edinbrough to meet him, & by many obsequious complements and friend-

ly blandishments allured and drew him to his Castle of creighton which was in his way: where some days he rested and was honorably entertained. Amongst many healthfull admonitions by way of counsel, he told him, that the greatness of a Subject consisted in due obedience to his Prince, whom he

should acknowledge to be his Lord and Master.

That by obedience he would vindicate the Name and Families of the Dowelesses, not only from blame of Treason, but from all suspices of Novations; that he would endeavor to execute justice more strictly then he had done in times past, not protect Oppressors against Laws and Equity, but suppress all infolencies of Theeves and Robbers, because cruelties and wrongs never stood secure before either God or man. That the estates of ancient Houses were often maintained more by reputation of things done, then any other foundation, which a little disobedience to a Prince might shake, if not altogether ruine. That it was fatal to all Princes in their under-age, and the beginnings of their Reigns, to have troubles and feditions, and be tormented by some of their Subjects who studied novelties; but when these Princes came to perfect years, they knew well to chastise those who troubled the Government in their youth. That he would hereafter rather content himself with mediocrity, then expose himself as a mark to envy. That he would make a proof of his power, not in excels and rior or pride of his ancient honours, but in bounty and religious charity toward his Country-men.

That he wished as his House had long continued, it might by sollowing what he had spoken unto him ever flourish. The Earl of a good inclination, if Flatterers and wicked Company had been removed, took in good part his advertisements and counfel, thinking he spake as he thought, and (perhaps) so he did, for he had not yet put on his double. Visage, and promised to repair what offences by youth, negligence, rashness or other indiscretion had escaped him: thus with his Brother David, the

Chancellor accompanied him to Edinburgh.

He had not long there stayed, when the frequent meetings, many secret conferences of the Governor and Chancellor at their several houses, which often held the greatest part of the night, who were not wont to be so kinde to others, bred a great jealousse and suspition in some of the Earls friends, that some lurking mischies was a plotting to entrap him. That small trust should be had in a reconciled enemy, and his many courtesies, and too exceeding savours were to be suspected. Hereupon some freely counsel the Earl to return home, and to leave off private meetings with them. Others intreat him not to enter the Castle of Edinburgh at all, or if he should, to dismiss his brother David, to keep themselves seattered that they

might

might not be inclosed in one Net, as upon his Death-bed their Father had instructed and admonished them. For if any violent course were intended against them, men would not dare to put in act against one of them, which they would against both. David presaging some strange accident to follow this fudden kindness of the Rulers was meditating an escape. The Earl took this counsel in an evil part, saying, Great Families never wanted turbulent friends, to whom common confusions lerved ordinarily for steps to inlarge their States, when Peace sendeth the most part of them home to live private men. And they cared not what blame were laid upon their Chiefs, fo it flood with their own commodity; that the pretence of hisdeparture would be worfe then the departure it felf, and that he would be obnoxious to worle furmifes, and more miferable mistakings going away, then if he had never appeared. That he preterred the approved trust of the Chancellor ( whose Guest he had been) to all the objections of dangers they could imagine; which suspitions he requested them to suppress, for to suspect causesly, instead of imagined wrong, returned a real injury, and being knowen would be a means to breed new jars, and bre ktheir begun Friendthip. Thus blind-folded by Destinie, and accompanied with some of his dearest Friends, amongs whom was Sir Malcolm Flamin of Cummernald; in 10lemp pomp with his brother he entred Edinburgh Castle the 24. of Nevember: the remainder, who were thrust back, with fad countenances and distrusting hearts, scattered themselves in the Town.

The Governor, that the envy might be divided and sbared, and all seem to be done by an universal consent, with a ceremonious welcom, and such as hate and emulation could suffer to be tempered together, did meet him and guide him to the King: at whose Table he was set to dine, which savors turned the heart of the young Earl so soft and relenting, that he wished he had sooner come to Court, and challeng'd himself of his mistrustful thoughts; but more his suspitious friends, whose presence he could have desired to be witness against themselves. The counsel given him at Greighton Castle, by obsequiousness, he resolve th to thank: the Kings benigne aspect and courtesses of the Rulers had advanced him to the highest de-

gree of honout

Amidst these entertainments (behold the instability of Fortunes) near the end of the Banquet the head of a Bull (a sign of present Death in these times) is set down before him: At which sudden Spectacle he leapt from the Table in horror and all agasts but this doth little avail him, he hath no power, for he is teased upon by armed Men, who rushing out of a cruel tyring Hotse, led him to the uncer Court of the Castle not regard-

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ing the plaints, cryes, tears of the young King, who pittifully mourped to see him manacled with cords: There with his bro ther David, Sir Malcolm Flaming his constant friend and compartner of all his Fortunes, he had his head and ambitious thoughts cut off. With this great blow of State the Parliament brake up, leaving grief, terrour, astonithment in the hearts of all the people, who ever hated the Actors of this Tragedie.

William Earl of Douglass and David his brother taken away. the Baron of Abercorn their Uncle succeeded to the Earldom. by reason of his stature and corpulency named James the Gross: A man free of any Vice or beroical Vertue, whose years were not many after his Fortune to be Earl. He was Father to feven Sons, the eldeft of which by a Dispensation from the Pope he married to Beatrice, the only Sifter of his Brothers Son William, named The Fair Maid of Galloway, not so much in respect cf her Beauty as her Fortunes; the Lands not tailed in Galloway, Annandale, Balven, and Ormand falling from the Heirs male to be her Portion. This Marriage was much blamed and cryed out upon by the Earl of Angus, Sir John Dowglass of Dalkeith, and other Gentlemen of that Name, not as they gave out for the propinquity of blood, being between Cozen Germans, but that lo fair and calie a purchase was taken out of their arms. They had always followed the King, and procured prohibitions of the Marriage; but these with spur-haste advanced the celebration of it, and upon a Friday, which the common People prognosticate to be ominous, and to have some sad event,

This Earl, ambitious, factious, popular, subtile, vindicative, prompt in the execution of his enterprizes; liberal and far from the dor-mule humour of his Father, began to think neither himself nor his kindred in safety, if the deaths of his Brothers and Coulins, wrought by the two Rulers remained unrevenged, and therefore fince openly without troubling the common peace of the Countrey he could not, by secret and umbragious wayes he laboureth to bring it to pale: Procuring a far off a disobedience to their Decrees, and contempt of their Authority, by men in a great distance from him in place, blood, friendship and familiarity, who after my fashion grudged, repined, complained of the present form of Government, or aggravated imaginary wrongs, are supported and protected by him, his houles turned places of refuge to distressed Male-contents. One John Gormack of Athole (not without suspition that he wrought by the motion and order of the Earl; and understood his Caball) essayed with a great number of Out-lawes to hinder the execution of a Malefactor, and take him by main force from the Sheriff of Pearth William Ruthen : but he perified in the enterprize. Patrick Gilbreath in the Caffle of Dumbartown, for priority of command, killeth Robert Simple, and to G 2 lave lave his person, or justifie his homicide, flyeth to the Earl of Donglass, by whom he is protected, notwithstanding the many informations given in against him at Court, and his cita-

tion to answer to Justice.

The King wholenon-age was now near expired, began to relish the Sweetness of Government in his own Person, and became tyr'd of the long and awful tutelage of his jarring Rulers; and the Flower of his youth feeming fram'd for great affairs, promised the fruit of a wife and happy reign; finding it difficult to put men near dayly unto him; long experienced and greedy of Rule, from high Places, except by the enter-taining a stronger and more powerful faction. He setteth his thoughts upon the Earl of Douglass, small favours to him would be a great umbrage to the ambition of his Tutors bring them within the compals of answering to what might be objected to them concerning their Service in the State; he would not fue to the Earl, but as occasion ferved he gave many fight and open speeches, that he had not altogether withdrawn his love and favour from the antient House of the Denglasses, their paffed faults being by them acknowledged and recompenced with fidelity and obedience in times comming. The Earl of Dowglass, whose towardness and liberality had acquired him many Friends at Court, upon affured advertisement of his Princes good-will towards him, cometh to sterling, and is no fooner prefented upon his knees before the King in the Church. when with all demonstrations of benevolence he is received in grace, pardoned, and not manies dayes after admitted to be of the Privy Council. The King imparting to him his greatest affairs, sheweth he will follow them by his advice and counfel, honoureth him with the plaulible name of Confin, and entertaineth fuch familiarity with him that all others give him the place.

The promotion and credit which the Earl of Douglass in a short time acquired about the King, his faction dayly increasing, moved the two Rulers (by their moderation seeking to avoid disgrace) to leave the Court. After which they were both removed from their offices, and their places and authority in Council with their whole Friends and Fellowers. They are upbraided with disorders, both in their private actions and the manner of their Government, and at last are summoned to answer before the King to such things as they should be legally accused of, The murmurs every where whilepred amongst the people, warned and certified them if they should appear and present themselves of some sad and tragick act. Whereupon with protestations of their Innocency declining the time, appealing to the King in his majority, and when he should be of still years, from these Judges their mortal enemies than abusing

abiolute

ablolute powers they suspend their appearing, declaring with al

This availeth them nothing, don at a Parlament holden in sterling, articles being forgod and urged against them especially of Peculate, as falcion Grown Lands, walter of the Kings Treature, the laying of their handisupon the Kings jewels. transporting Lands to them diver and their friends i diffriburing Offices and places of the Crown and State (which should have been by the Authority of the Councel as Hunsers divide a Prey between themselves Dispensing with Riots and taking the force and vigour from the Laws of the Kingdom, thus as betraying the administration of the Realm into the hands of worthless and corrupted men, they are denounced Rebels, their perfons and estates proferib'd. Charge is given to Sir John Foller of Carftorphane and others the Danglasse adherents: to bring all their moveables to the use of the Exchequer, demolish their houses, invade their friends with fire and sword and all that fided shem. Thus the uncertain viciffitude of humane accidents everturns often them who feem to be raised to the highest degree of honour. The Castle of Barentoren is belieged taken thrown down with other houses upon the Gavernours and Chancellours Lands, their Farms and Small Villages are plundered and ranfacked. In revenge of which the Rulers waste the Earl of Dowglaffes Territories, the Villages of Straw-Brock Abercorn Blackness are burnt, with Corforphene. The ravage begun, continueth with dayly loss to both parties, and the overthrow of the Common-wealth,

The Earl wondreth (now having the Kings Authority) to finde his enemies so strong, and hold so long out against him, He suspected they have secret support by some not well afteded towards him. The most powerfull and eminent of which he guesseth to be James Kennedie Bishop of St. Andrews, and Cousin germane to the King. He knew him jealous for his sudden favours at Court, and that he had whispered amongst his Friends, that he feared the ambition of the Earls unlimited heart was now exalted to such exorbitancy of height, that becoming top-heavy it would fall by its own weight, and turn up the Root.

The Earl will have this Prelate less powerfull to affist the Rulers, or do harm unto him. To this effect he instigateth the Earl of crawford his Allie, and Alexander Ogleby of namer-wharety, to invade the Bishops Lands, and rifle his Vassals in Fife, without order or declaration of wrongs done by him. The Bishop after the burning and spoiling of fundry of his Farms, being weak by power to refist their violence and repair his losses, took him to his Spiritual Arms, and excommunicated the Earl of Crawford. Though he made small account of this

this verbal Thunder, yet did not this injustice long escape the revenging hand of God, who raisesh up ordinarily one Op.

preffor to execute his justice against another.

Alexander Lyndefay, Son to the Earl of Crawford, pretended a title to the Baylerie of Arbrothe, ont of which he was kept by Alexander ogleby, whose title was equal to his, if not better. This enmity kindled to fuch a flame, that upon either fide they affemble their friends in Arms . The ogleby callett the Lord Huntles, the Lindelay the Hamiltons to affift their Rights: frequent meetings having been to calm matters, and reconcile them, and nothing agreed upon nor concluded, they refolve at last to decide the cause by their swords. The East of Cram. ford then remaining at Dundee , advertized of the present danger of his friends, posteth in all haste to Arbroth, and cometh at the very chock of the skirmith, and when they were to enter the fight. Here intending by his wildom to take up the Quarrel, and prefuming upon the respect due to his place and person, he rashly rusheth forwards before his Companies rodemand a parly of Alxander Ogleby with his Son : But ere he could be known or was heard, he is encountred by a common Souldier, who thrust him in the mouth with a Spear, and prostrate him dead upon the ground. This sudden accident joyned the Parties, who fought with great courage and resolution: The Victory after much blood inclined to the Master of Craw. ford. Alexander Ogleby fore wounded, was taken and brought to the Castle of Finelvin where he died; the Lord Huntley elcaped by the swiftness of this Horse. John Forbess of Pitsligon. Alexander Burkley of Garteley, Robert Maxwell of Tillen, William Gordonn of Borrowfield, Sir John Oliphant of Aberdagny with o. thers fell on the Oglebies fide; they fought the 24. of January

Now by attending opportunities to increase publick disorders, turn the times dangerous and troublesome and confound the State; the Earl of Dowglass kept himself in the absolute Government; by umbragious ways he nourished discontentments in all parts of the Country, amongst the Nobility, Gentry Commons of the Realm. Alexander Earl of Crawford put to death John Lynton of Dundee; Robert Boyd of Duchal, and Alexander Lyle flew lames Stuart of Aucheumintee; Patrick Hepburn of Haills, surprised the Castle of Dumbar; Archembald Dumbar, as if he would but change places with him, taketh the Castle of Haills, where he was belieged by the Earl of Dowglass, and with conditions of fafety rendred it. Sir William Creighton all this time kept the Castle of Edenburgh, and when by intreaties nor power he could not be induced to render it to the King, his Castle of Creighton is plundered, a garrison placed in it, and the Castle of Edinburgh by the Earl of Douglass is belieged and

1445

blocked up. Nine moneths the Assailers lie about it: but it proveth impregnable, and without loss of many Subjects cannot be taken, about the end of which time, mens courages waxing colder, conditions are offered and received; which were, that the Chancellor should be restored to grace, place, and whatfoever had been withheld from him by his enemies at Court, an abolition and abrogation of all former discontentments should be granted, the besieged should pass out bag and baggage free. At a Parliament holden at Perib, the Chancellor was purged by an Assise of his Peers of what was laid against him, his lands and goods seized upon by the King or Dowglasses are decreed to be restored, as well to his followers as himself; he is established in his dignities and places of honour, notwithstanding of all Edicts, Proclamations, Confiscations before, which were declared null; all matters past put in oblivion, as not done. This confidering the credit of the Earl of Donglass, was thought very ftrange; but James Kennedie Bishop of St. Andrews, whose respect and authority was great with the Churchmen, perfected this Master-piece of State; and the Earl of Dowglass knew, though the Chancellor was unbound, he had not yet elcaped.

During these Garbovis in Scotland, Margaret Sister to King James, and wife to the Daulphin of France, Lewis, died at Chalenes in Champaigne; a vertuous and worthy Lady, beloved of all France, but most of Charles the seventh her Father in Law. who for her respect matched her three Sisters, who remained at his Court hopourably; Helenora, with Sigismond Arch-duke of Austria; Elizabeth, to the Duke of Bretaigne; Mary with the Earl of Camphire: She was buried in the great Church of Chalones, but after when the Danlphine came to be King, he caufed transport and bury her in the Abbey Church of Laon in Poittow: Many Elegies were published upon her death which areyet extant. Sir lames Stuart, the Black Knight, husband to the Queen, at this time died also: He had turned a voluntary exile, to shun the dangers and envy of the Factions of the Country, which he incurr'd by his free speeches against the misgovernment and miseries of the time, and as he was bound sowards Flanders, by the Flemings was taken upon the Seas, The Queen out-lived not long her Daughter and Husbandi the was buried the fifteenth of July in the Charter-boufe of Perthanear her first husband lames, the year 1446. She brought forth to the black Knight of Lorn three fons, lobe Earl of Athole, lames Earl of Buchane, Andrew Bishop of Marray.

The Chancellor having recovered his honours and State to the disadvantage of the Earl of Dowglass, though of good years and tyred with the troubles of a publike life, yet findeth not any defired rest. A Marriage being defigned for the King with

Mary

Mary daughter of the Duke of Guilders, by the instructions of Charls the seventh the French King; but secretly by the procurement of the Earl of Donglass, the Chancellor, as a Man grave. great in place, and experimented with the Bishop of Dunkel and Nicholas Otterburn, is lent over the Seas in Embaffie. This troublesom and unprofitable honor abroad is laid upon him. that he might be separate from the King, and suspended from opposing to the private designs of the Earl at home. This ob-Itacle of his ambition removed (which had neither moderation nor limits) the Earl may exclude such Officers in State or Court who were not agreeable to him, and substitute others of his Creation after his pleasure, he hath now room and opportunity for his greatest designs. His kindred are without pauling preferred to Offices of State, his brothers to new honours; Archembald is made Earl of Murray, by the Marriage of a Lady of the house of Dumbar, who was Heir of the Lands, and the Kings Ward: George is created Earl of Ormond; John made Lord of Balvenie, and hath his Donation ratified in an Affembly of three Estates, who were convented at Edinburgh for matters concerning the Marriage of the King, but in effect that the Earl might purfue his old enemies. The Commissioners are chosen after his pleasure, are prepared and instructed by him, prelimitated; and, to combine power with craft, he entreth in an offensive and defensive League with many Noblemen. Barons, and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. All the wheels and vices of his Clock being right fet, Alexander Levingston, late Governor, Alexander his eldest Son, Robert Leving from Treasurer. David Levingston, James Dundes, Robert Bruce of Clackmannin Knights, for Peculate and converting the Princes Treasure to their private use, are forfeited, taken and committed to fundry Prisons in December 1447. at which time they were brought to Edinburgh; Alexander the Governor, James Dundas and Robert Bruce, after Fines laid upon them were remitted back to Dumbarton; there to be kept Prisoners, during the Kings pleafure. alexander the Governors Son, a young man of great expectation, with Robert Levingston Treasurer, and David Levingston. not so much by any crime proved against them, as by the Divine Justice in punishing the severity of the Governor for the execution of the Earl of Dowglass in the Castle of Edinburgh had their heads cut off; the people much deploring their misfortune. By this blow the Earl of Dowglass thought he was more terribly avenged, then if he had proved his power against the old Man; having thus as it were killed him twice. Though by this strict Justice he pretended the publick weal, his end was to govern all by his absolute Authority, and make the world see what credit he had to help or harm when he pleafed, admire his pompous attendance, his haughtie carrying of all bufiness, and his power in State.

1447

The Chancellor having perfected his Embassie, Mary daughter to Arnold Duke of Guilders, born of the Duke of Borgundies Sifter, a Lady young, beautifull, and of a masculine constitution, arriveth in Scotland, and with great solemnity, accompanied with many Strangers and the Nobility of the King. dom, is married to the King in the Abbey Church of Holy-roodhouse; As these Nuprial Rites were finished, the Peace between Scotland and England expired, and the Borders of both King. doms break, and mutually invade others. Amidit much robbery spoil and havock upon either side, the Earl of Salisbury, Lieutenant and Warden upon the West depopulateth the bordering Villages, and burneth the Town of Dumfreis; the Earl of Northumberland spoiling the east, burneth the Town of Dumbar: Iohn Dowglass, Lord of Balvenny, invadeth the Englift bounds, and burneth the Town of Annich; the ravaging and depradations in a short time turning equal, the two Kingdoms agree upon a suspension of Arms, and place and day to treat about a general peace; at the last by an Assembly of the States 1449. A Truce is condescended unto for seven years. At this time Alexander Seatown Lord Gordon, is created Earl of Hunt-

ley, and George Leslie Baron, Earl of Rothes.

This Truce was not long kept by any of the Nations, but, as it had been drawn and plaistered up for the fashion, they conspire equally to break it. New incursions are made, slight skirmishes began to wound either side and banish peace, just arms were constrained at last to be opposed to injurious oppressions. The Scots having made desolate some parts of cumberland, an Army under the leading of the Earl of Northumberland is raised, commanded by Magnus Red-beard, whom the scots by reason of the length of his beard named Magnus with the red Main. A man trained from his youth in the Wars of France; who is faid to have required no more for his Service to the Crown of England, then what he might by his own valour conquer of scotland. The English march from the West Borders, passthe River of Soloway and Annand, and encamp near the River of sark. The Earl of Douglass declareth his brother George Earlof ormond Lieutenant for the King against them ! who with the power of the South and West loseth no time to encounter: the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Piercy his Son, Magnus Red-beard, Sir John Pennington, Sir Robert Harrington led the English Battalions: The Earl of ormand, Lord Maxwell, Lairds of Jobnston, and Craiggy Wallace, the Scottish. Here occation and place ferving, is it valiantly fought, the fortune of the day long doubtfull : till Magnus, whose experience and direction in War in those days was deemed unparalleld, his courage here turning into temerity, was beaten from his horfeand flain. After his fall, many turning their backs, the Earl of Nor. thumberland

thumberland himself with great danger escaped; more in the chase were lost then in the Battel; such who assayed to pass the River, by the consustion and the weight of their Arms were plunged in the water; others who could not finde the Foords, being taken, and brought to the Castle of Lochmaben; amongst which were Sir John Pennington, Sir Robert Harrington, the Lord Piercy, who by saving his Father engaged himself. Few renowned amongst the Scots were here lost, except Craiggy Wallace, a principal actor, who governing himself by honour and courage, died of his wounds there received not many days thereafter. The English to repair their loss raised an Army, but by the daily supplies raised for France, and their projected Civil Wars (the Duke of York, Earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury beginning to tols the State) it was kept at home for their own use, and a truce was agreed upon and concluded with Scot-

land for the space of three years, 1450.

This Victory obtained chiefly by the valour of the Dowglaffer, advanced highly their credit with the young King, and the Court founded with nothing more then their praises. But great Fortunes are as hard to bear as to acquire, and ordinarily prosperity carryeth us into insolencies, without pondering the consequence of our actions. William Colvill Knight, upon a private quarrel having flain James Auchinleck a follower of the Earl of Donglass, the Earl revenged his death, not only with the flaughter of William, but with the throwing down of his House, and spoil of all his Lands: which turned cold the affections of many about the Court towards him, and made him terrible to all of a contrary faction to his. After, whether tyred with his working thoughts, or to shun more hatred and envy, or to try what time would produce, amidst the inward grudges and rancours of Court, or that he held his own Countrey too narrow Lists for his glory, he leaveth the Kingdom: substituting one of his Brothers Procurator for his affairs, and in his absence to govern his estate, accompanied with his Brother Mr. lames (a Man learned, and brought up in Sorbon Divinity, Expectant of the Bishoprick of Dunkel, James Hamilton of Cadyow, the Lords Grahame, Seatoun, Oliphant, Saltoun, and many Gentlemen, he arriveth in Flanders, cometh to France, passeth the Alps, and it being the year of Jubilee stayeth at Rome: where he was honorably received and welcomed. Envy never leaveth great Actors; he had not been long absent from his Prince, when many are suborned to give up complaints against the oppressions, riots, wrongs of his Kindred, Servants and Vassals. The faults of his governing the King are pryed into, every overlight and escape aggravated to the height. The King at first was loth to lend an ear to misreports and calumnies of a man lately so well deserving and dearly of him beloved:

loved: but overcome by importunity and urged by the numbers of Complainers, he gave way that his Brother and Procurators should make answer for wrongs suffered by the Complainers: after many citations his brother not appearing is at last by force presented to the Councel: when he could not answer to such faults as were laid against the Earls Vassals and Followers, nor acquit them of violent oppressions, he was only enjoined to restore to the Complainers their loss, and restore all damages. Upon fair promises of Restitution the King bringeth him off the danger, and obtaineth him liberty to return home.

There, after long advisement with his other Brothers and some haughty Vassals, they declare, old Rapines and Wrongs being joyned to new, and recent with which they were charged, the restitution was impessible, and like spilt water which could not be recovered. Not satisfied with this Answer, the Councel citeth the Earl of Donglass upon some days to appear before them, and all his Vassals and Followers with his Brothers to answer according to Law, to such Articles as should be given in against them. The Earl was far off, and they confidered it confifted not with their weal to hazard their persons to the Arbitrement of Judges, many of which had been obnoxious to their affronts. Thus for not appearing they are denounced Rebels, and Warrants granted to invade and spoil their Lands, as publick enemies to Authority and the present Government. This Decree is tollowed by open force; and to facilitate the execution of it, and to take up the Earl of Dowglasses Rents, William Earl of Orkney cometh to Galloway, Dowglas-dale, Liddef-dale: But he found, Authority not seconded with power against lusty Rebels, to produce weak effects: for he returned disobeyed, contemned, and near spoiled and rifled by the Earls Tenants and Vallals.

The King to vindicate his Authority, since he could not prevail by reason, with competent forces in person entreth the same Territories, taketh all the strong Fortresses and Castles where he came, demolisheth the Castle of Dowglass, placeth a Garrison in Lochmahane, giveth the custody of such places he spared with the whole Goods and Moveables appertaining to them, to the Complainers and men interested in wrongs or blood, by the Rebels. The noise of this unexpected backblow being heard at Rome, perplexed not a little the Earl of Dowglass: Many of his train leave him, that where lately he represented a Prince, he seemed now scarce a private Gentleman; he was assured he lived under a Soveraign who maugte all detractions, would hear his own defences. Upon which hopes he resolves he return, taketh him to his Journey, and for his greater haste and safe progress, he obtaineth a Passe through

England, come to the Borders of Scotland, his Brother James is directed to the Court, to understand the Kings minde towards him, and if there were any possibility in this ebb of fa-

vors to have access to him.

The King ingenuously promiseth to accept him, and performed it for all that hapned by the mildeameanor of his Friends in his absence, requesting that he would but live peaceably according to the order of the State, without hating that which his Prince loved, or improving that which he approved and authorized; and that as himself and his Brothers were ever the most able and readiest to repel the wrongs of Strangers, fo they would endeavor to entertain unity and concord in the Countrey it felf, and purge their Lands of Theeves and Robbers; if mischievous and wicked men were not punished, there would be no furety nor fafety for the good and vertuous. Past wrongs are pardoned, the Garrisons removed from his Castles, and they are rendred unto him. Then to put him in affurance of increasing favours, he is made Lieutenant General of the Kingdom: a place great and requiring great action, being onely to be bestowed upon a Man active, great in

power and friends.

The Earl of Dowglass again affoat in the stream of his Soveraigns favours, might have continued, if his miseries had not been decreed from above: foon after he falls in a new difgrace; whether upon a promise of return, or that he was sent for, or that he would officiously give thanks for received courtesies, when he was in his way homewards, he passeth privately to the Court of England, and without his Masters knowledge or leave bath many days ferious conference with the Nobility of that Kingdom, then many ways diffressed by the Rebellion of Kent, and the factions of the great Men. The pretended cause of his journey was given out to be the repairing of his own and his Vassals losses, sustained by the in-rodes of the English the time of his travels abroad, and the redressing of other disorders on the West Borders; but his Enemies suggested he intended to enter a League with some of the English to the disadvantage of his Master, and trouble of his Countrey, by changing the form of Government, or the Officers of State. King James took this meeting with the English in an evil part; but after great intercession and many requests of the Queen and Noblemen after he had submitted himself to his clemency, and acknowledged his errors, received him. In this mean time he is discharged of all publick imployments; his Offices of State are divided between the Earl of Orkney and the Lord Creighton his reconciled Enemies.

Removed from publick imployments he giveth himself to study private revenge, and the whole secret Council turn

distasteful

## Of JAMES the second.

distasteful unto him: especially orkney and Creighton, men perfectly abhorring his ambition, and who greatly seared his dis-

measured greatness.

Their suspected affronts and alledged wrongs towards him were increased daily by tales of Sycophants, It was told the Earl that the Lord Creightoun in conference with the King, had said, it were expedient for the peace of the Countrey, that the Earl of Donglass with all his friends and followers were rooted out, and their memory abolished; but if that were left undone, neither should the King rule in due Majesty, nor the Subjects ever give him that obedience which they ought. That wife Princes suffered houses to grow as men do Spider-webs. not taking heed of them so long as they were small, but when offensively encreased, they swept them wholly away. Irritated by these and many such like speeches, after much contempt of the Chancellor, one dawning, as he was early coming from Edinburgh to his Castle of Creighton, the Earl who wanted not his own intelligence amongst his followers (Hatred being an evil Counsellor) laid an ambush for him on the high way. But the clearness of the morning discovering it, by the swiftness of his horse he escapeth; some of his company being wounded, and one of the Assailers slain in the pursuit. Two days after, the Chancellor to repair his credit, accompanied with a number of his Friends and Followers, coming in great haste to Edinburgh, had unawares surprized the Earl of Dowglas, then attended but with a small number of his friends. if he had not speedily shifted himself from the danger. This contention now burfting forth into open hostility, divided into Factions the whole Kingdom; The Earl of Domglass maintaining his by the long continued grandeur of his House, the Chancellor standing by his Princes favour, and a long practife of the affairs and course of the World; The Earl fearing the Authority of the King might fway the Ballance and make the party unequal, if he should be brought to call to remembrance passed actions and attempts of his Predecessors, findeth nothing more expedient to curb his enemies, and strengthen his proceedings, then to renew his old Confederation, and combine with him many others. Hereupon the Earls of Crawford, Ross, Murray, Ormond, the Lord Balvenny Knight of Cadyow, many Barons, Gentlemen with their Allies, Vassals, Servants to a great number, subscribed and swore solemnly never to defert one another during life; That injuries done to any one of them, should be done to them all, and be a common quarrel; neither should they desist to their best abilities to revenge them: That they should concur indifferently against whatfoever Persons within or without the Realm, and spend their Lives, Lands, Goods Fortunes in defence of their Debates

and Differences whattoever. This confederation and Cove. nant again renued, turned the Earl imperious in his deportments, prefumptuous beyond all limits, and his followers and adherents insupportable to their neighbors: The Lands of fuch who were not of their party, or refused to think all their thoughts and second them in their enterprizes, were plundred; and goodness was a cause to make men suffer most pillage and ransacking of their Goods, and other miserable calamities. At this time the Thieves and Robbers of Liddef-dale and Annandale break into the Lands of John Lord Herrefs, a Noble Man, who had continued constantly faithful to the King, and drive with them a great booty of Cattel: Complaints being given to the Earl of Douglass of the Depredations of his men, and finding no redress, the Lord Herress essayeth to drive the like prey in recompence of the damage; but being unequal in power, his fortune was to be taken by the Thieves, and brought as a Prisoner to the Earl, who layed him fast in Irons; and not withstanding of the Kings Letters (full of Intreaties and Threatnings) without any formality of Law, caused, Hang him as a Felon: The like mischief was practised in other places. After this contempt of Soveraignty, it was universally blazed that the Earl of Donglass, in respect of this new Covenant, the power of his Kinfmen and Allies, the entertaining of fuch who were discontent and discountenanced at Court, the love and favor of the men of Arms in Scetland (ever governed by fome of his Name) his riches, the honor of his Ancestors, had resolved to dissemble no longer, but openly to play his game, effin one day it he could fet the Crown upon his own head, being then able to raise an Army of Forty thousand warlike perfons, men ready to go with him, whither or against whom they cared not, attending onely the occasion and his Commandment.

The King who before but distained the pride, after this League became jealous of the Earl of Douglass (a League giving a Law to a King breaking all Bonds of Soveraignty, and inviting a people to look for a new Master) and though his modesty and patience served onely to turn the Earl more insolent, and his boldness more active, yet in a foul game he bare a fair countenance; knowing the last thing which a Soveraign Prince should do, is to show himself male-content and offended with any of his Subjects; for instead of chastising him, he would give him sairer means and greater power to do him harm: He would not show a token of any prejudicial thought to the Earls proceedings, till he had sirst heared himself.

Thus very calmly he defired him to come and speak with him at Sterlin, whiles he (conscious of his own misdemeanor) except upon a publique assurance under the great Seal for his

1452.

fate coming and return, retuted to do: A safe conduct obtained, about the Shrew-Tide, in the year 1452. he came to the Court then remaining at Sterlin Castle, accompanied with many of his Confederates, and a powerful Retinue: The King with a gracious countenance, and all apparent respect received him, endeavoring rather by kindness and humanity, then by rigor to reclaim him to his former obedience. The day near spent, the Gates of the Castle shut, all removed, except some of the Councel and the Guards; the King taking the Earl friendly apart, remembred him of favors received, wrongs forgotten, the duties, as a Subject, he owed to his Prince, his capitulation before he would come and speak with him; he taxed him with the exorbitant abutes and outrages of his follow. ers: Then he told him what Informations he had of a Covenant of mutual defence & adherence betwixt him and some of his Nobles & Gentlemen, which he would scarce believe: He prayed him to consider the murmuring, or rather begun sedition of his people, his long patience in tolerating his proceedings, his misbelief of evil reports towards him, until he had heard what he had to fay for himself and his innocency.

The Earl answered the Kings towardness in equal terms, trusting much to his confederation; for his favors he should strive with all obsequiousness to deserve them; That as he had the honor to command others who obeyed him, he knew very well how to be commanded, and obey his Prince, and in what disobedience confisted; that as none of his Subjects enjoyed more Lands and Honors then himself, there should not one be found who more willingly would engage all his Fortunes and person for the Honor of his Prince: That they who layed Inares for his life, being so near his Majesty, for the surety of his person he could not come to Court, except upon a publique affurance, and well accompanied: For the wrongs committed by his Followers and Vassals, he would give what satisfaation should be required; Concerning the Band of mutual friendship betwixt him and some Noblemen, they would have adhered together without any writing; they were driven thereunto for their own lafety, not out of minde to offer, but repel injuries: That he was infinitely oblig'd to his goodness, in not condemning him before he was heard, and for that he had not lent a credulous car to his enemies milchievous de-

The King replyed, effects and not words make the affection and fubmission of a subject known; and could there be any greater surety for him, then to rely on the Laws of the Commonwealth and Countrey? especially (continued he) in a Countrey where Laws, and not Faction rule, and where a mans own goodness is able to preserve him: But such men as you

are raise these Factions, to the subvertion of all Laws and Authoriry; and for Subjects to make an offensive and defensive League against all persons, is to disclaim all Government, and do what they please without controlment; commit Treason in the highest degree, and make your own Swords and Power justifie your proceedings, which, though ye first use against mean persons, and conceal the progress of your actions (for there are degrees in evil, and wicked men begin at that which feemeth the least of evils, or not an evil at all at the first ) your last aim is likely to be the robbing upon the Crown: Consider (my Lord) ye are born under a Monarchy, which admitteth no Soveraignty but it felf, and it is natural to Princes to hold it in highest esteem, and in no case to suffer it to be shaken by their Subjects: Take your Prince for your best protection, and an innocent life; renounce that Union and League with your Peers which excepted, or commanded, or approved, or permitted by your Prince, sublisteth not in Law nor in Reason, being forbidden under great pains; and let it not be heard any longer, that ever fuch an unjust Confederation was, and so wonted clemency shall be preferred before deserved Justice; The Earl replyed, The league being drawn up by the common confent of many Lords, Barons and Gentlemen, and Subscribed. it could not be cancell'd nor renounc'd but by their common consent; nor was it profitable for the King, nor to him other ways to have it done: That being together, they might condescend to the renouncing and cancelling of it. But (says the King) you to shew good example to the rest, shall first begin; Neither (living) shall any Traytor in my presence disavow and disclaim my Authority, in what is within my possibility of accomplishing. The Earl requests him to remember, he came to Court upon a publique assurance: A publique assurance cannot so warrant any man, but that he may fall by his own private mildemeanor, answered the King; withal, considering a mean courage in a King to be an imputation, and that he did neither wrong towards God nor his Fame, in revenging himfelf upon the enemies of the State; The place, a strong Castle; his present power, all within being his Councellors and Servants; the danger if he should escape; the easiness of suppressing the Rebellion, the head taken away: (The Earl continuing hot and stubborn, in debating his points of the League, wrath banishing other Doubts and Interests) his Dagger performed, what armed Justice scarce dared attempt: The Kings blow (the norse arising) was seconded by a number of his Servants, who rushing in the Room left him dead, upon Shrewd-Eve, the 22. of February, 1452.

About the last Scene of this Tragedy, a pair of Spurs between two Platters (an Emblem of speedy flight) as a part of

the Kings Banquet, is directed to Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow; This he communicateth to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Union, in which time the News of the Earls death is foread abroad: The Lieguers finding themselves weak to carry so strong a place as the Caffle, in hot blood set on fire divers quarters of the Town of Sterlin, make Proclamation against the. King and his Councel, for violating the affur once granted to the Earl: Infamous Libels are spread every, where, and the lafe Conduct of the King and his Councel bound to a wooden Truncheon at a Horles tail is trailed along the streets: In the Market place, by the mouth of a Cryer, to the found of all their hunting-horns, they declare the King, and those that abode with him, Faith-breakers, perjured persons, enemies to all goodness and good men. James the next brother of the House of Donglass (a Church-man) being proclaimed Earl, in rage and madness, committing all fort of Hostility; they overrun the Lands and Possessions of those whom they suspected would side the King, and not prove of their party: John Lord of Dalleith their Kinsman, and of the Name of Dowglass, they beliege in his Castle of Dalkeith, for that he hated their proceedings; the Tenants and Vassals of the Earl of Angus are plundered for the same cause: The strength of the place railed the Siege of Dalkeith; and the Earl of Augus, by their many wrongs and infolencies, remained more constant to the King.

In this time the King writeth to all the good Towns of the Realm, and Church-men, giving reasons for the taking away the Earl, imputing the fault to the Earl himself, exhorting the people to make no stir for the just execution of a Man born for the ruine of the Kingdom, and who voluntarily had precipitated himself in his own mis-hap; offering all his power to keep the Countrey in quietness, according to that Authority in which God hath placed him: This blow, as particular Interests made the hearts of men incline, and as passions were various, was variously and in several maners taken: Some without inquiring of circumstances, after what fashion or occasion soever done, allowing it, thought the King had more clear and evident inducements for his deed, then could fall within the Labyrinths of reasoning. The Majesty of a Prince hardly falleth from an height to a midft, but easily is precipitated from any midst, to the lowest degree and station; The King (saidthey) bath obviated this fall, hath set afoot again and raised his Authority threatned with ruine; he hath vindicated his liberty almost thralld, thath affured the Lives, Honors, Estates of many loyal Subjects, which were endangered by not adhearing to the league of the Kel, and keeping their Oath of Allegeance to the King; be (if he please) now with Honor and Reputation may hold his Parliaments, bring to pals

pass his designs for the conservation of his Authority, and the peace of his Subjects. Others blamed this Deed everywhere, and in every circumstance: laying perjury and murther against him, and the breaking of the publick Faith and Assurance, the common Band of humane Society, the common defence of all, and the ground of Justice.

To which it was answered, that the Earl was not taken away for his past demerits and misdeservings, but for what he had recently committed in the Kings own presence, having spoken to him with an insupportable irreverence; They which have safe conduct, being obliged to shun all kinde of offence towards him who gives it them, any enormity being sufficient to an-

null the benefit of it.

More, for the breach of Faith, the Earl and his confederates were the more perjured; and he the murtherer of himself at they having violated that Natural Oath to their King, which all Subjects owe to their Soveraigns, by drawing up a League among his People, to the breaking of the tyes of Soveraignty, giving by this, occasion and just cause to the King to reward them after their demerits. Most said the killing of the Earl was evil, but that it was a necessary evil. That as Nature suffereth not two Suns, so Reason of State suffereth not that in one Kingdom their be two Kings, but that of necessary the one must overthrow the other; and matters going thus, he who giveth the first blow hath the advantage. Thus did Men judge diversly, after their proper interests, of the Deeds of others.

The Torrent of these disorders increasing, Laws are neglected, Towns, Villages, Houses, the High ways are everywhere afflicted with Rapine, Fire and Fury, and save needy

boldness nothing is lafe and secure in any place.

The changing Multitude (like Mad-men limning Pourtraicts with their own blood) delight in their Proceedings, and daily increase the number of the Rebels. In this Insurrection the King is reduced to many extremities, and is faid to have thought upon an escape by Sea to France, if he had not been diverted by James Kennedie, Bishop of St. Andrews, who told him, that to leave the Kingdom was to give all over to the insolency of his Rebels, and for fear of burning, to leap into the fire it self. That besides the high and long continued title of a King, which the best part of his Subjects yet reverenced, he had sufficient Friends and Warlike men, who appearing in a Field with him would raise a just fear in the hearts of those who to hainoufly dared disobey him. That God would be prefent to revenge wronged Majesty, and turn their hopes in despair; That the Common People were ever changing, and a little time would make them flow to these from whom they didebb; and all would return again, except fuch as were guilbeggerly Peace as their greatest punishment. That his chiefest and principall City stood good for him, which example the other Towns would undoubtedly follow; that Rebellion was like Thunder, the noise of which (if observed duely) was often more terrible then the blow, and dissolved ordinarily in tears of Repentance and fair Weather: that here the prudence of a Prince manifesteth it self, when he cannot suppress and stop all the evils in his State, to suffer and tolerate the least, and with leasure and time, abolish and extirpate the greater, and make vertue of Rebellion.

The King, by the Bishops Counsel and Assistance, gathereth an Army, but will not try the hazard of a Battel, before those he had advertised and sent for, should joyn with these already about him, and his Forces from all the Quarters of the Kingdom be united. In the North, the Earl of Huntley had raised a goodly Company to come to his aid; but the Earl of Crawford. a Confederate of the Earl of Dowglass, with a power of the men of Angues, and all who would follow him, guided by some French Commanders essayed to cut off his passage, and rencountreth him at Brechen; the Battel is fought, and the victory inclined where the Kings Standard was displayed by the Earl of Huntley. The equity of the cause laid aside, the occasion of this Victory was ascribed to John Coloss of Bonnymoon, who having one of the wings of the Army to guide, which confisted of battel-axes, great swords, and long spears, and the best invalive weapons, in the hottest of the skirmish gave ground, and left the middle Ward naked upon his fide: the reason of his revolt is reported, that the night before the Battel, when every man was refolving with his affairs of the world, Bonnymoon requested the Earl of crawford, of whom he held his Lands Ward, and relief, fince the next day he was resolved either to be victorious or die in the field, to subscribe a Precept (himself falling) for entring his Son to his Lands. This the Superious refusing, the Vasfal out of a just indignation, when he should have charged, retired, and his Company with him. Such thoughts possessed not the Earl of Himtlies mindeshe dealt not fo sparingly with his friends in hope of their good service: To the Forbeffes, Oglebies, Leflies, Grants, Irwines, he freely gave many of hisown lands, which raised their courage to the height. In requital of which, the King after beltowed upon him the Lands of Badycenoch and Lochaber. In the conflict the Earl of Huntley loft two Brothers; the Earl of Crawford and Sir John Lind ay his brother, being left on the Field, fled to his house of Phanheaven, where he was heard to fay, He would be consent to remain feven years in Hell, to have in fo timely a featon done the King his Mafter that Service the Earl of Huntley had performed.

formed, and carry that applause and thanks he was to receive from him: This condict happened upon the Ascention day,

the 18 day of May, 1452.

The King by the confluence and refort of many worthy Subjects unto him, having ime to breathe, and finding himfelf in a calm, keepeth a Convention of the States at Eden. burgh; Erethe Earls of Douglass, Crawford, Ormond, Murray. the Lord Balvenye, Sir James Hamilton, and others are cited to answer according to Law: They instead of appearing, in the Night, upon the Doors of the principal Churches and other places eminent, fix many Placates and Libels, figned with their hands; which bear, the Earl of Donglass nor his Followers will never obey command nor charge in time coming, nor answer citation, for that the King is not a just Master, but a Blood-sucker, a Murtherer, a Transgressor of Hospitality. a Surpriser of the Innocent and such who deserved no harm at his hands: Not long after the King levied an Army, which. by the approaching Winter did little Service; and the Earl of Donglass, to save the Lands of Beatrice his Brothers Widow. unseparated from the House, sought by a Dispensation from the Pope to have her in Marriage, alledging her untouched of his Brother; which being refused him, he kept her in place of his wife, the effect of his Sorbon Divinity, and found hereby more Bryers then Roies.

The Barl of Crawford placing two stricts of Seas betwint him and the King, spoileth the Lands of all those who for fook him at Brechen; and Archembald Earl of Murray, burneth the Pile of Srath-Boggy, pertaining to the Earl of Huntley; In re. venge of which, the Earl of Huntley burnt and herried all the Lands of the Earl of Marray beyond the Spey: The King too. in this madness of Man-kinde, defaceth his own Countrey. pulling down the Houses of his Rebel-Subjects, and walking Annan dale: This ravage and mutual overturning of all that ving continued almost two whole years, the Faction of the Earl, far inferior to the Kings, now weakned with fuch lafting Incursions, fundry of the chief men and heads confidering the leaft faults were the beft, that it was better to ftrike fail in time, then make a full Shipwrack of their persons. Honors; and the well of the Kingdom and State, counsel the Earlithat Fervors growing colder, fince it could not be undone which was done; he would not fet greater work on foot, but proceed! ing with conveniency, fubmit himfelf friendly to the King, who had be much goodness as generosity, and fought and required dething of his Subjects but obedience; and having now proved how difficile fit was to avercome them by Arms, was (perhaps) as much tyred as they would pardon thefe faules which he could not otherways amend. Necessity in Affairs of

Princes.

Princes, constraining them to yield to many things in Government against their first Conclusions, and resolve to grant that which they could not well hinder: That there were many hours in the day, and the hearts of Princes were subject to change in them; that he should not torsake the publique weal of the Kingdom for his private Considerations: That after this trouble of State, he might be more esteemed and sought after by the King, as it is ordinarily practised among Princes and great men, who affect onely that which is necessary unto them.

To these the Earl answered, That they had went too far forwards to think upon any cowardly recreat and coming back again; that the onely vertue under a Tyrant, was to die constantly; that other vertues did fight, but constancy alone triumphed: That for himself, he would never trust his life to the mercy of those who under colour of friendship and banqueting, had first made away his two Kinsmen, and after his own Brother; for if they being Innocents, were thus handled, what might he expect who had been the occasion of such distraction in the State? He that once had broken his faith, except by a furety, is unable again (in Law) to contract and enter in Bond with any & Who will be furety between a King and bis Subjects? That Treaties, Agreements, Covenants, Bargains of a Prince with Rebellious Subjects, engage him no farther, no longer then the Term-time or day, which pleafeth him to accept observe and keep them, as they turn or may turn to his utility and advantage; that as in Nature there is no regress found from privation to an habit, so neither in State men once differed do return to their former Honors: That Princes mortally hatedall Subjects who had either attempted to over-rule them by power, or had cast any terror upon them; and how loover by confident they bear fail for a time, in the end they were fure pay mafters: That there was nothing more contrary to a good Agreement, then to appear to be too earpelt and buffe to feek to obtain it the would fue for none: That sil his days he had loved fincerity, constancy and fidelity, and could not unlay and recent what he had promifed and practiled, nor do against his heart : His friends and his own standmg was by their Swords, which thould either advance their enterprizes and turn them Victors, outher would die Honorably like themselves and men, and notignobly be murthered like could not supply their Confusion, but only by their Cosheel In This tree and dangerous resolution of the Earl moved many who heard, to provide fartheir own latery, and refolve not to suffer long milery for other mens folly, finding this war was not like to have any end; and that danger and death would be

the only reward of their Rebellion: Amongst others the Earl

of Crawford, after great adversity, when he could not move the Earl of Dowglass to submit himself to the Kings clemency, with many tears and protestations of his sincere love and counsel to him, left him; and some weeks after, as the King was in progressin Anguls, in a sad penitential manner, accompanied with his best friends, coming in his way with much humility and forrow, Heacknowledged his fault, pleading rather for pity to his house, which had so long flourished, then to his perfon. The King knowing his Example would be no small occasion to weaken the power of the Earl of Donglass, and that of all the Rebels he was the greatest object of his Clemency, was content to receive him, but he would have it done by the mediation of James Kennedie, Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Lord Creightoun, once his greatest Enemies, which he refused not to embrace. Thus freely remitted with those who accompanyed him, he returned to his own house of Phanheaven, where within few moneths he died of a burning Ague.

The three Estates, after assembled at Edinburgh, where sames Earl of Dowglass, the Countess Bestrix, whom he kept by way of a pretended Marriage, Archembald Dowglass, Earl of Murrey, George Earl of Ormond, John Dowglass, Lord of Balveny, with others their adherents, friends and followers, are Attainted of High Treason, and their Lands and Goods are Consistate and discerned to be seized on to the Kings use. The Earldom of Murrey is given to sames Creighton, who had married the eldest Daughter of the Earl of Murrey; but he perceiving he could not possess it in peace, turned it back again to the King. At this time George Creightoun was created Earl of Caithness; William Hay Constable Earl of Arrole, Darly, Halles, Boyd, Lyle and Lorn, Lords of Parliament; the King maketh a rode into Galloway, reducing every strong hold and Castle of the Countrey to his Power; Dowglass-dale he abandoned to the spoil of the

Souldier.

Matters at home turning desperate, the Earl of Donglass being brought to that pass, that he knew not to what to wish or fear, Iames Hammilton of Cadyon is sent to England to invite the ancient enemy of the kingdom to take a part of her spoil, and help to trouble the King. But the English had greater business amongst themselves then could permit them to Wedd the Quarrels of the Earli After Sir Iames Hamiltonn was returned with an excuse, and regret that some of the English Lords could not supply their Consusion, but only by their Counsel, he advised the Earl of Donglass to trust to his own Power and Forces, which were sufficient, measuring their Courage, and not counting their heads, to hold good against the King. There was no humane affairs where men were not necessitated to run some danger, nor any business taken in hand with such a certainty.

Earl

tainty, which by unknown causes, and even light ones, might not run a hazard of some mishap; That he should study to embrace and accept of what was most honorable and least dange. rous: it was better once to try the worst then ever to be in fear of it: it was fit for him to commit something to fortune, and wisdom could counsel nothing but to shun the greatest evil. This lingring war would not only tire, but over-come and vanquish them, when one fair day of battel, either by death or vi-Arry would Crown their defires. Others advised him not to hazard upon a Battel, except upon feen and approved advantage, and to time it out a while; in this lingring war a Truce might be agreed upon, which ere long might turn in a Peace, in which every thing passed might be forgotten and pardoned; That Wars were managed more by occasions and times then by arms; That the King could not be now but tyred, since he had learned, that by effaying by arms to overcome them he had gained nothing but trained up his Subjects, whom he called Rebels, in all warlike Discipline, and had his Countrey spoiled and the Policy defaced. Should they once enter in blood, all hopes were gone of any conditions of peace.

At this time the King belieging the Castle of Abercorn, to relieve the belieged, hither marcheth with all his Forces the Earl of Donglass; being come within view of the Kings Army, he observeth their march flow, the countenances of his Souldiers altered, much whispering, and their spirits in a manner dejected. Countrymen were to fight against Countreymen, friends against friends, and all against rheir Prince. Interpreting this rather to proceed from their weariedness, then want of good will to enter the Lifts, as well to refresh and cherish them to be more prompt and lufty of courage the next morning, as to take counsel what course to follow, and how to dispose of their Game, he stayeth that afternoon and pitcheth his Tents. To men unfortunate everything turneth an Enemy. Whether Sir James Hamilton gave way to this, or not, uncertain; but after (it is faid) that in a chafe he told the Earl, he had neglected the opportunity of Fight, and should never see so fair a day again, in which he might have hazarded one Cast of a Dyefor a whole Kingdom. But his Fortune was now declined, and (perhaps) would never stand upright; that by giving that night to his Souldiers to paule and deliberate on the matter, they would (perchance) take the fafest way, be more advised what to enterprise the next morning, readily not fight at all, confifting of a number of bold young Gentlemen, Volunteers, who for the most part out of bravery and compassion followed him; That the Kings Army by his lingting and lying off was encouraged, finding they were to cope with men who would advite ere they fought. After which speeches he bad the

Earl farewel: And now, knowing that the way lay open both for Pardon and Favor to him that would first feek it, he in the night breaketh out with some friends, and having got over the fields betwixt the two Camps, was brought fately to the King, who graciously received, and freely pardoned him: The Army having understood the clandestin Revolt and efcape of Sir James Hamilton, disbanded, every man slipping away by lecret passages to his own habitation, that on the morrow there was nothing to be feen but the folitary field upon which they had encamped : The King out of joy of this bloodless Victory, caused Proclaim in all his chief Towns, That fince Soveraign Authority had no less splendor by the actions of Clemency, then by these of Justice; all those who had followed the Earl of Douglass, and been of his party, rather by mif-fortune and unadvised rashness, then any eval will against him, should be freely pardoned: Those who would abandon the Earl and come to the Kings Camp, who oever they were, no Justice, no Law should trouble them, but they should be received to mercy, and have all pardon: After this Proclamation, many submitted themselves to the King and were pardon. ed; though Sir James Hamilton was remitted, yet that under colour of reconciliation worle milchief might not be plotted, the King fent him, with the Earl of Orkney, to the Cafile of Rosling during his pleasure, and the taking in of the Castle of Abercorn; remembring also it was some prejudice to a Prince to be obliged to any Rebel.

The Earlot Douglass gathering together the split pieces of his Ship-wrack, with his Brothers, and so many of his Confederates as would not for lake him, flieth to England; here with much Travel, by many promifes of Rewards, great hopes of spoil, gathering unto him a power of Out-laws, Felons, Bancker-outs, and such as lived by Rapine, as well of his own Nation, as of the English, he maketh a Rode upon the West Borders of Scotland; some Villages being burnt, many preys, much spoil driven into England; at last, he meeteth with the valiant men who were appointed to defend the Marches, the Maxwells and Scots; here in a furious skirmish his Companies are discomfitted: Archibald Earl of Murray's Brother is slain, and his head fent to the King; the Earl of Ormand is taken Prifoner; himself with the Lord Balvenny with great difficulty elcapeth in a Forest; when he sought to return again into England, he findethall Passages stopped up, the wayes layed for him, and begining to feel much want, he is constrained in a dilguifed habit to lurk meanly in the inmost parts of Scotland, till he wandred toward the far High-lands, where finding Donald Earl of Rofs, Lord of the Isles, one of his League, a man cruel, arrogant, unpolitht, after many discourses and long con-

### of JAMES the second.

ference with him (being no less eloquent then active) he possesseth him with great hopes faster a division of the Kingdom between them two) of an absolute power and Government of of all the High-lands, besides the wealth and treasure which he would purchase by the spoil: He requireth onely he would break upon the more civil Countries, bring all the Fire-brands he could to kindle and trouble them, and cut work for the King, whilst he with new supplies, and a great Army to be raised in England, should invade the Marches and bordering Countries: The Earl of Rofs, who thought nothing impossible to him, being to himself in these barbarous parts by phantalie a King, and was used to vaunt of a long pedegree from Ferges, relisheth the profit and possibility of this Finterprise, sweareth to leave nothing undone for the accomplishing of it; and parting with him upon mutual affurance, intreateth onely celerity and swift performance of what they had concluded.

Scarce was the Earl of Donglass in England, when the Earl of Refe, the two pillars of his Deligns being Injustice and Violence, supported by fair hopes from the South with his wilde Mountainers and Islanders (like an inundation) over-runneth the Neighbor bounds: Argile suffereth the first effects of their furyathe Isle of Arrain is taken, & the Caftle made a Bon fire as if they were the facrifice for the finns of the rest.) the Bishop of the Isles faveth himself by flight, and taketh Sanctuary, Lochquabar and Murryland are spoiled, the Town of Innerness is set on fire, the Castle surprized, Murthers, Ravishings, Robberies, with what infolency the barbarous Canibals could commit, are every where, and the fad image of death ravageth amongst the common people: The Earl of Douglass now at his last shifts and efforts, leaveth no shifts nor helps unlought out; such who lived upon prey and spoil refort unto him; he maketh hot inincursions, and after a most hostile maner, which purchased him the hatred of all his Countrey-men, and turned those who were indifferent in his quarrel, his professed enemies: This ravage continuing, Henry Earl of Northumberland (after flain at Cantonn-field) whom love of the valor of the house of Donglast, and true commiseration, had brought to take arms with him, invadeth one quarter of the Marsh, and the Earl of Dowglass turneth towards another: But whilest they are difperfed, and more eager and intentive to carry away spoil, then to look to their own fafety and military discipline, the Earl of August, with Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow, put them both (with number and confusion overborn) to flight, slaying many, and taking more prisoners: After this overthrow, during the Kings reign, the Earl of Douglass deliberating not to oppose longer to necessity, but to be still till better times, never attempted

tempted to invade his Countrey.

Amidst these incursions, the Earl of ormand at Estinburgh is beheaded: the Countels of Dowglaß, Beatrice (all hopes being lost of restoring her Husband) despoiled of her Lands and tair Heritage, turned now a Monster of Fortune, the blame of her unlawful Wedlock laid upon the Earl, confented to by her out of a certain fear of her life, submitteth her self to the Kings Clemency. The King, who denied not mercy to any fought it of him, that the less guilty amongst the seditious might withdraw themselves, and the obstinate remain the less powerful and weak, receiveth her; and giveth her in Marriage to his Brother John, Earl of Athole, ion to the Black Knight of Lorne, designing for her Dowry the Lordship of Balveny

By her example the Countefs of Rofs, abhorring the fierce. ness and cruelties (as the gave out) of her batbarous Hust. band, butrather out of policy to be an Agent for him, Heth to the King, and hath Revenues allowed her for the maintenance of her Estate. Not long after the Earl of Rof thinkets the miladventure of his Confederates having tapghe him now fome wifdom, having feen the Kings clemency to ward's others equal to him in Treason and Rebellion, by many humble subplications craved pardon, and begged peace. The King by his great prudence, and the course of the affairs of his Kingdom, knew that it was necessary fometimes to condiferend to the imperfections and faults of fome Subjects grand having bont paffion, apply and accomodate himself rother which enough according to the ftrictness of equity was not due, yet for the present occasion and reason of State was convenient answered. he would neither altogether pardon him, nor fla ly reject Milly, there being many figns of his wickedness, few of his changed minde; when honeftly without fraud or guite, he thoulderave a Pardon, and give fatisfaction to those whom by blood and pillage he had wronged and by fome noble action deface the remembrance of his former crimes, then should it be good with to receive him. Notwithstanding this should not discourage him, but he should know he had a defire to make him relish the effects of his bounty, sohe himself would finde the meuns and subject. In this interim he wished him to keep the common peace of the Countrey, and not oppress any of his Neigh bours. About this time the University of Glaffen wa found ed by William Turnbul Biffic pof that Sea: William Hay Earl of Arole, George Creighton Earl of Caithness William Lord Creighton, died 1455, and the Bilhop of St. Andrews is made Chaticellor.

The King partly having loofed, partly cut in pieces that Gordian knot of the League of his Nobility, began to reobtain al gain the ancient Authority of the Kings his Predeceffors; gi-

ving

ving and imposing Laws to his Subjects, according to reason and greatest conveniencies. Shortly progressing through the Quarters of the kingdom, by the sound counsel and instructions of the Bishop of St. andrews, Iames Kennedy and William Saintelare Earl of orknay, used such clemency, that in a short time he reclaimed all his turbulent subjects. In the year 1455, he held a Parliament, where he ratified what was resolved upon to be done for the peace and weal of his People, establishing many profitable Laws for the posterity; after this time Air bassadors came from England and France unto him.

Henry the fixt King of England, a loft facile Prince and more fit to obey then command having restored in blood, and allowed the descent of Richard Plantagenet Duke of York; the Duke under pretence and countenance of reforming the State. and removing of bad Counfellors from the Court (the umbrage of all Rebellions) by one Jack Cade an Irifh, a bold man, and who had a Spirit which did not correspond with his low condition, who feigned himself to be a Cousin of his, of the House of Mortimer, and other his Instruments, raised a Rebellion; which began among it the Kentish men and was after continued by his confederacy with the Duke of Norfolk, Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Devon, and others; and notwithstanding he had fworn fealty to King Heary at Blackheath, again openly took arms against him at St. Albans; where in pitched field Edmond Duke of Somerfet, his greatest Competitor, and who had been preferred to his place in the Regency of France, was killed, the King wounded, taken and committed in the Tower of London. At a Parliament after, the Duke is made Protector of the kingdom: at another Parliament he maketh claim for the Crown as in his own Right, laying down thus his Title. The Son of Anne Mortimer, Daughter and Heir to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March Son and Heir of Philip, the Daughter and fole Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third Son of King Edward the third, and elder Brother to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancafter, is to be preferred by very good right in Succession of the Crown, before the Children of John of Gaunt the fourth Son of the faid Edward the third; but Richard Plantaginet, Duke of Tork, is come of Philip, the Daughter and sole Heir of Lionel, third Son to King Edward the third, then to be preferred to the Children of the fourth Son, who was John of Gaunt, and fo to Henry the fourth the Ulurper his Son, to Henry Stiling himself Henry the fifth his Son, and Henry the fixth now wrongfully calling himself King of England. This Parliament chosen to the Duke of Yorks own minde, at first various, at last unanimously enacted that Henry during his life thould retain the name and honour of a King, but that the Duke of York should be continued Protector of the Countrey, and be declared Heir Appamargarite the Queen, Daughter to Rheny King of Sicily, more couragious then her Husband, disclaimeth the Parliamentary Authority, and this Agreement of her King with the Duke of York, as a matter done to the prejudice of her Son, and against the Laws of Nations, which admit not a forced Contract, and

done by a Prisoner. The Crown of England hanging at this point, the Queen to her detence imploring the aid and affiftance of her best, greatest Friends and Allies, sendeth Embassadors to King James. These remembring the duties one King oweth to another against Rebels, and the Usurpers of their Crowns, the correspondency and amity of King Henry with King James during his prosperity, expostulating the cruelty of the Rebels against Edmond the late Duke of Somerset, Uncle to King James, flain by them in detence of his Prince, promise in their Kings Name, Queens and their Sons, with the approbation of the Noblemen of their Party, to restore to the Kings of Scotland, the lands of Northumberland, Cumberland and Bishoprick of Durham after the manner the Kings of Scotland in former times had held these Territories of the Kings of England: so he would raise an Army, and advance to their aid and supply.

The Duke of York fent hither also his Ambassadors, giving in many complaints against King Henrythe had oppressed the people with taxations, and all kinds of exactations; he had preferred to places of State and Government new men, by whole Counsel, and his Queen, he governed only; he despised the old Nobility, he had loft Normandy and Gascony, as France had been loft by him; England was likely to run the same danger. They could not longer fuffer his dull fluggishness, and his Wifes exorbitant pride; he was couragelels in War, and base in peace. For the Duke of York, if Justice did not warrant his claim, except his Descent were undisputable, and his Title without all exception, he would not defire the possession nor succession of the Crown. King James should remember it was King Henry who entertained the late Diffentions and Civil Difcords of Scotland; he supported the banished Scots in England; and after they had much enlarged their discourse with reasons of a just War against King Henry, if King James will arise in arms against him, and affist them. They promise to restore and render all the Forts and Places of importance taken in the old Wars from the Kingdom of scotland, to him and his Successors. King lames answered the English Ambassadors, that he was not ignorant of the State of their Kingdom, neither to whom their Crown did appertain, but that he would not take upon him to be umpire of their strife; for the raising an Army, he would think upon it, though he had small assurance for the perforperformance of their promited conditions: he had long projected the recovering of the lost Fortresses of scotland, in their hands, and now he would try whom he might trust. The Embassadors dismissed, the King raised an Army, but lest to the Divination of the posterity, which of the Parties he was to side. The English and French Writers affirm he was to aid King Henry, and revenge the death of the Duke of Somerset his Mothers Brother, the Scottish to assist the Duke of Tork, and that by a counterfeit Legate from the Pope after he had been upon his March, he was moved to return. It seemeth perswaded by the French King (the ancient Consederate of Scotland, and who for that end had sent his Ambassador) to keep the English within their own Country, and disable them in their Conquest of France, he intended upon the advantage of this Civil discord to make a rode in England, as the French made an Algarad by

Sea upon Kent.

The Kings Army being gathered, that it should not loyter in idleness, attending greater intelligence from the event of the English Factions, having passed the Tweed, invadeth the Town of Roxburgh, which with little travel is taken and equalled with the Ground; the Castle a strong Fortress is besieged. Whilst the King here passeth the time, inviting it more by courtelies and blandishments, then Ammunition and Warlike Engines to be rendred to him, Commissioners come from the Duke of Tork, requiring him to leave his Siege, and contain himself within his own kingdom, unless he would run the hazard to engage himself in a War against the whole Body of the kingdom of England; they give him thanks for his forwardness to their fupply; all things succeeding after their delires now, and asthey could have wished, they request him to return home; when their necessity required his aid, they would implore it, and not prove forgetful for what he should do towards him. King James asked the Commissioners, if the Duke of York and his Affociates had fent any direction concerning the keeping of their promises to him, when he should appear with an Army; They affuring him they had no fuch Commission; I (answered the King) before their Embaffie came, had resolved to take in and throw down this Castle builded upon my bounds, and being by no benefit obliged to any of your Factions, will not for words leave off what I am about by arms to perform. The Commissioners departing the King caused apply his Battery against the Castle, which couragiously defended it self, and holding good beyond expectation bred an opinion that famine would be the only Engine to make it render.

The Kings Army daily at this Siege increased, and amongst all the Companies none were more forward and prompt to discharge their duties in this Service, then those of the late League

WITD

with the Earl of Donglass; above others the Earl of Rojs, to testifie his remembrance of the Kings clemency in his behalf, with a great company of his Irish came to the Camp, men energy fit for tumultuous sights and spoil. Alexander Earl of Huntley comings the King with the Earl of Angus would take a view of the Trenches, and as to welcome a man, whose presence seemed to presage good Fortune, caused discharge a pale of Ordinance together; but his coming to this place was as fatal, as at Sterlin prosperous; For at this Salve, by the slices of an over-charged piece or wedge, the King, his Thigh-bone broken, was stricken immediately dead, and the Earl of Angus was sore bruised: This mis fortune happened the third of August, the 29, or as others, the 30 of the Kings life, of his Raign

14. the year, 1460.

Who will take a fair view of this Prince, shall finde him to have been endowed with what conditions and qualities are to be defired or wished in a Monarch, both for minde and body; of an excellent feature and pleasant aspect, a strong vigorous complexion, given to all Knightly exercises: He is said to have had a broad red spot upon one of his cheeks, from which by his Country-men he was named James with the fiery face, which would make Physiognomists conceive, he was of an hot, active, violent disposition, and one who had more need of restraint then encouragement in all difficulties; yet in his actions we finde him temperate, stayed, and of a well settled humor, proceeding upon found grounds, and after mature deliberation, being much given to follow the advice and counsel of grave men about him; He was upright, fincere, affable, courteous, loving to his Domesticks, humane towards his Enemies, gracious and benign to all men, a loyer of Justice, liberal, but without oppression of his loyal Subjects, wife, in adversity industrious and diligent, politick in Affairs of State; having always raised up one Faction to relieve him from the hazard and burthen of another, and expose the Faction he most feared to the nearest hazard: He was wisely distident, and put on a judicial distrust. often to be governed as occasions should vary, and could diffimulate according to the fashions and changes of the time : He seemeth to have been indifferent in keeping his Favorites, and that he could ever as well transfer his fancy, as he had fetled his affection; For like the Sun he would make a round, and not always shine upon one Ho-

The death of the two Earls of Donglass were fatal to him and though he was innocent of the first, the second chanced deservedly in his hand; Couragious Princes are not to be provoked by any Subject how great soever: Confederations and Leagues are fearful attempts against Soveraignty, and for the

most

most part end with the ruine of their Authors: The extirpation of the Earls of Douglass in the person of James (a Church. man) proceeded rather from his own stubbornness, then any male-talent the King had against him. In all Nations it is obferved. That there are some Families fatal to the ruine of their Commonwealths, and some persons fatal to the ruine of the Houses and Race of which they are descended: Since in Kingdoms some have no compassion of their Prince, nor the loss of his Honor, a Prince should not much regret their loss, nor the ruine of their persons and Estates: His great clemency appeared in this, That the heads taken away of that long Rebellion, he tollowed no particular revenge upou their followers, not onely granting pardons, but forgetting the offences; knowing it was better to heal and cure the faulty and fick members of a State, then to abolish and cut them away; and more valor for a Prince to overcome his own passions and just wrath, then to vanquish and subdue his proudest enemies; yet was not his elemency a foft weakness, it being no less cruelty to forgive all then to spare none, but an order and discretion in Justice, temperate with severity towards some more then towards others, according to their demerits: He was very sensible of the afflictions of such as were distressed, as witness the Countesses of Douglas and Ross: His life having set in the Orient of his Age and hopes, he deserveth in the Records of Memory and Fame, a place amongst the best but unfortunate Princes.

He had Issue of his Queen, James who succeeded, Alexander Duke of Albany, John Earl of Mar, Margaret Countess of Arrain by the Boyd, and after Lady Hamilton. Cecily. He was buried with all Funeral-pomp, within the Monastery of Holyrood-

boule at Edinburgh.

THE



Ismes. m. king of Scots
Ano. 1460: R.G. fecit



# HISTORY

OF THE

Reign of Iames the third,

SCOTLAND.



After of her Husband, tull of griefs and cares with her son, came to the Army at Roxburgh; and the publick loss being revealed (for till then it was whispered) with more then a masculine courage caused give new and desperate assaults to the Castle; many Turrets being shaken, some Gates broken, parcels of walls bea-

ten down, the Mines ready in diverse quarters to Spring, the besieged ignorant of the Assailars missortune, and by the dissention of their Countrey-men from all hopes of relief, treat upon a surrender; conditions being obtained peaceably to depart with their lives and goods, the Fortress is given up: and shortly after, that it should not be a Residence of opposition in following times, is demolished and equall'd with the ground.

Many of the three Estates being here assembled, the Times not suiting with other Solemnities, at Kelfo the Peers of the kingdom in a Military Pomp, set the Crown upon the head of

the King, then some seven years old, and give him their Oath of Fidelity. At their coming to Edinburgh the education and governance of him and the other Children is committed to the Queen their Mother: the Credence of what could make for Peace at home, or War abroad, is trusted to Andrew Stuart Lord Annandale, the Lord Cassils, Earl of Orknay, the Lord Boyd Chancellor, the Lord Grahame, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Dünkel; the Civil Wars increasing in England, the Governors of Scotland, under colour of preserving the bordering Countreys, sent forth some Companies, which upon occasions made Roads in Northumberland, and threw down all the Fortresses out of which Incursions were wont to be made upon the Scottish bounds, most especially the Castle of Wark: af-

ter which ravaging, the Winter recalled them home.

The milder parts of the Kingdom reduced to order, Some turbulent Chiefs of the Mountainers taking the occasion of the Non-age of the King, and of Rumors of Diffentions amongst the Governors, eslay to trouble the Peace of their far and wilde Countreys: Allan Lord of Lorn, throweth his eldest Brother in close Prison, with intention to rob him of his Life and Estate; but he after is surprized by the Earl of Argile; Donald of the Isles taketh the Castle of Innerness; and placing there a Garrison, proclaimeth himself King of the Isles, compelling the neighbour Towns and simpler fort of people to pay him Taxes. At the Rumor of this infolency all wicked Out-Laws refort unto him; by whose power he invadeth the Castle of Blair in Athole, out of which the Earl the Kings Uncle with his Lady (once Countels of Dowglafs) flie and take Sanchurry in the Church of St. Bride, where the Church about them let on fire, they were irreligiously taken, and transported to the Island Ila. Whilst the Governors were raising an Army, and advancing such forces as were in readiness against the A. ctors of these mischiefs, they were ascertained that as these Savages were lanching forth of that Island in their VVherries and small Vessels made of boards and wicker, by a violent tempest from Heaven, the most part of them were dashed against the rocks and drowned: and those who had escaped were strucken with Pannick fears, and deprived of their right judgments and understandings, an ordinary accident to men blinded with Superstition, and guilty of Murther and Sacriledge; amidst which distractions, the Earl of Athale with his Lady was fafely returned to his own Caftle.

MARGARET Queen of England, after the second overthrow and taking of her Husband at Northampton with the Prince her Son, and the new Duke of Somerset, having fled to the Bishoprick of Durham (whilst Richard Duke of York was establishing his Title and right to the Crown at London) railed in the North of Scots and English, a strong Army which marched towards Tork; the Duke of Tork leaving the King in the Custody of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warnick, though he knew himself interior in power and number to his enemies, by the pride of his former Victories and over-weening of his Souldiers valor, with Edmund Earl of Rutland his yonger Son, the Earl of Salisbury and others, rencountreth her at Wakefield-Green, and here by his own rashness with his Son yong Rut.

land, he is killed.

The Earl of Salisbury is taken, and with other Prisoners beheaded at somfret Caltle; their heads were fixed upon Poles about the Walls of the City of York; that of the Dukes was mocked with a Paper Crown, and exposed to the barbarous mirth of the beholders: The Queen encouraged by this Vi. ctory, desiring to dilaunul all Act made lately in prejudice of her Husband, marcheth couragiously towards London; In which time Edward Earl of March, Son to the late Duke of Tork, overthrew the Earls of Pembrook and Ormand, both of the Queens Faction; at Mortimer-Crofs, in her way to London, the Queen meeting the Earl of Warmick and the Duke of Norfolk at St. Albani (who carryed King Henry her husband along with them) overthrew them, and recovered the person of her King: It is observed that Victory always fled from where this King was prefent: The Citizens of London, at the approach of the Queens Army fearing Hostility. shur their Gates against her, and armed for relistance: At this time Edward Earl of March having joyned his Victorious Army with the remainder of the Earl of Warmicks, entred in triumph the City of London, and with great applause and acclamations of the people, was preclaimed King: Queen Margaret and her Faction retiring to the North, wan so the hearts of that people, that they gathered an Army able to stand for her defence, consisting of Threescore thousand fighting men; Edward Earl of March, choosing rather to provoke then expect his enemies, advanced towards them; the place of their meeting was between Caxton and Temton: In this fight the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, the Lord's Beaumont and Dacres, Grey and Wells were flain, and above Thirty fix thousand English struck down; The Dukes of somerfet and Excester flie to York to carry the News to the unfortunate King, leaving the Victory to Edward who is again falured King.

King Henry after this overthrow, perceiving how desperate his hopes were in his own Countrey, with his Queen. his Son, and the remainder of his dispersed friends, secured himsels by flight into Sectland; James Kennedy Bishop of St. Andrews, to whose person the Authority of the State was then reduced. teceived him with magnificence and honor, and put him in hopes, by the affishance of Scotland, to restore his fortune:

1. 2

King Henry, as well to referve some Refuge and Sanctuary for himself, as to win the heart, and infinuate himself in the savor of the people of Scotland, caused render the Town of Berwick to them, which the English had violently possessed since the days of Edw. 1. For which savor the Scottish Nobility vowed at all times to come to his supply, and defend him to their uttermost; and that the sriendship begun might continue without all vacillation, the Queens of Scotland and England, both descended of the French Race, began to treat of an Alliance, promising Edward Prince of Wales should be marryed with the Lady Margaret, the King of Scotlands Sister, none of them

then having attained the years of marriage.

The miseries of King Henry increasing, suffered not these two Queens to stay long together; Margaret with her Son Edward, to implore the ayd of her friends, maketh a Voyage to. wards France to her Father Rhene King of Sicily, Naples and Je. rusalem, Duke of Anjou, a Prince large of Titles, short of Power : These who had followed King Henry into Scotland, whilest he is left onely intentive to devotion in the Cloyster of the Gray-Fryers at Edenburgh, return back again to follicite their friends in England for a second rencounter. Upon the arrival of Queen Margaret in France, the obtaineth of her coufin Lewis the eleventh, that those who favored and affisted the Duke of Tork, were prohibited Traffique, and commanded to remove out of the French Dominions, and that Five hundred Soldiers should come to her ayd; a number so small and so unworthy the name of an Army, that it was but a competent retinue for fo great a Princes: with these she came to the coast of Scotland, and from thence failed to Tinmouth, where being repulsed by the Inhabitants, and forced again to put to Sea, sbe was by a furious Tempest driven to Bermick.

Here leaving the Prince her Son Edward, with the enereale and supply of some Scots, taking the King her husband with her, she advanced into the Bishoprick of Duresm; in her march through Northumberland, her Army increased to a great number: The Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and divers of King Henry's well-wishers having resorted unto her; King Edward finding King Henry by the fresh air of the North to have acquired new Spirits, prepareth to oppose him, and having fent down the Lord Mount ague, brother to the Earl of Warwick, he himself with greater Forces shortly followed: Mountague having through the Shires where he went, and the Bishoprick of Duresm, gathered a convenient Army, marched directly against King Henry : In the mean time Henry Reaufors Duke of Somerfet, the Lords Hungerford, Roß, Moulines, Sir Ralph Percy, present themselves to hinder his further progress; They are overthrown, and King Henry with great difficulty escapeth to Ber-

wick

### of IAMES the third.

wick. At the news of this overthrow King Edward being in his March towards Durham, finding the presence of his Person or Army needless, turned towards Tork, and gave the Earl of Warwick command to take in all the Castles and Fortresses

which as yet held good for King Heury in the North.

Amongst the Garrisons placed in Northumberland by the Queen there was a Garrison of the French in the Castle of Anwick, under the Command of Peter Bruce, otherwise named le Seigneur de la l'aroune Seneschal of Normandy, which held long good against the English. This Peter Bruce was in great account with Charles the feventh, father to Lewis the eleventh, and for this was not much liked of Lewis, but fint over with Queen Margaret to make wrack upon apparent dangers; having efcaped Tempests at Sea, he took the Castles of Bambrough and Dunstanbrough, which he demolished. After heessayed to keep the Castle of Anwick; but the Earl of Warwick, King Edward lying near to Durham, there beleagured him: Whether this man came from the Race of the Eruces of Scotland, or no, is uncertain; for the vulgar Writers in this detract him, naming him Brice and a Bretone, or that the Scots would give a proof of their friendship to the Queen of England, and of their valour to the French; whilft he is everywhere befet, and near past hope of relief, the Earl of Angus, then Warden of the Marshes, raised a Power of twenty three thousand horse men, remarkable for their Valour. These about the midst of the day coming near the Castle of Anwick, and by their colours and arms being known a far to Captain Bruce, he taketh a resolution to fally out and meet them; the strongest of the scottish Horsemen receiving them, convoy them lafely to their Borders; some of the Besiegers would have fought in the pursuit, but the English General gave him fair passage.

King Edward having taken all the Castles and Forts which in the North held out against him, placing Garrisons in them, returned to London: as King Henry, void both of counsel and courage, came back to Edinburgh. Here he had not long stayed, when tired with the tediousness of his exile, the prolonging of a wretched Life, being more grievous to him then death it felf, and allured by false hopes of his Friends, he resolvesh to hazard upon a return to his own Kingdom; his Grown loft, all his Favorers and wel-wishers almost slaughtered, he cometh into England; then disguised, and by night journeys, shifting from place to place, at last betrayed by some of his Servants, he is found out. It is recorded a Son of Sir Edward Talbots apprehended him as he sate at Dinner at Wadding Town-ball; and like a Common Malefactor, with his legs under the horse belly, guarded him up towards London. By the way the Earl of Warwick met him, who led him Prisoner to the Tower. Margaret

his desolate Queen with her Son, is driven once again to flie to

their Father Rhene into France.

King Edward, his Competitors all dead or suppressed, finding a Cessation of Arms expedient, and a breathing time from War, to settle and make sure his new Government, as to other his neighbour Princes for peace, sendeth Embassadors to Scotland, to treat for a Truce for some years.

The Earl of Argile, Bishop of Glasgow, Abbot of Holyrood-house, Sir Alexander Boyd, Sir William Cranstown, being chosen to this effect Commissioners, come to York, and the English Commissioners there attending them, a Truce for fifteen years is agreed upon, and solemnly by both Kings after

confirmed.

Mary Queen of Scotland, daughter to Arnold Duke of Gilders, and mother to King James (the projected Marriage of her Daughter with Edward Prince of Wales, by the miseries of King Henry and Queen Margarite her kinswoman proving desperate; her son Alexander, either as he went to the Low-Countries to see his Grand-sather, or returned from him, being by the English taken upon the Seas) limited in credence of governing her children by the insolency of a proud Nobility, her Reputation branded, after a long languishing with inward discontentments, turned as it were recluse, and began to bid sarewel to this world. Her melancholy growing incureable, amidst her last Trances when her Son had come to visit her, the is said to have spoken to him almost to this sense.

That Providence which brought me upon the Earth, and fet a Crown on my bead, doth now recal and remove me to a better Kingdom; and my happiness is not in this a little, that I leave this life without change of that estate in which I peaceably lived. Death now shaweth me as in a mirrour, the frailty of all worldly Pomp and glory which before by the marble colours of false greatness was overshadowed and covered from me. My Griefs have been many, few my Contentments; The most eminent of which, was the hopes I conceived of you, and. my other children: And now my greatest regret is, that I leave you before I could see my wishes accomplished towards you. My onely care was to have you brought up in all vertue, and goodness: But Heaven shall bestow that charge to more pruden: Governors: Always take these motherly directions from me, who can leave you no better Legacy. Be earnest to observe these Commandments which are prescribed unto you by Religion, for this supporteth the Scepters of Princes: and a Religious King cannot but bave obedient Subjects. What an unreasonable thing is it, that a King will have a People to acknowledge him for their Soveraign Prince upon Earth, and will not acknowledge God for bis supream Lord in Heaven? A King who rebelleth against God, all subordinate Creatures will rebel against

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him. Love my children, and laying aside the Port and Stateliness of a King, receive them with the affection of a Brother. Endeavor to make your Subjects obey you more out of Love then Fear : or make your felf beloved and feared both together, Seeing love alone of it felf is often canse of contempt, and fear alone begets hatred. Remember ge Govern not the foft effeminate People of the South, but a fierce Warlike Nation of the North, which oftner use to be intreated then commanded by their Princes. Be paring to lay Subsidies on them, which maketh many Male-contents; and live upon your own, suffering others to enjoy what is theirs: Beware of Flatterers, and exalting undeferving Persons above your uncient Nobility. Suffer not your Prerogatives to come in Question; but foreseeing the danger. rather give may to all that with reason is demanded of you. Moderate your Passions : He shall never Govern a Kingdom, who cannot govern himself, and bring his Affections within the Circle of Reason. It fears me, Envy and Malice arm themselves against you, which to oversome, endeavor to be Martial in your felf; for a Prince that is not Martial in himself, shall never be freed of Rebellion amongst his Subjects: a strong arm should hold the Ballance of Instice: When diffention arifeth, be not a Loyterer and Sluggard, but with all celerity suppressit in the infancy. Rebellion is like fire in a City, which should be quenched, though with the pulling down of the neighbour Houses: Others will instruct you in the art of Governing, with greater curiosity and wisdom, but not with the like love and affection. I wish this Counsel be ingraven in your heart and conscience after my death, for a perpetual testimony of my fincerity in your education. And if by the unjust counsel of others, go be brought to practife ought contrary to these instructions, Remember je cannot shun inevitable dangers both to your State and Person. But now I am warned from above to deliver this grief full Body to the rest of a defired Grave.

After she had thus counselled and blessed her Son, not living many days, she was buried with all Solemnities and Funeral-Rites at Edinburgh in the Colledge of the Trimity, which she her

felf had Founded in the year 14 66.

The King as he increased in years, increasing in strength and ability for exercises either of recreation or valour, by the Regents is given to a Brother of the Lord Boyd to be bred in Knightly Prowess; a man singular for his Education abroad and demeanor at home. The Kennedies were now aged, and become tyred to give such assiduous attendance at Court as they were wont, and the times required. The Lord Boyd by the weakness of his Co-partners governed the State alone, as Sir Alexander his Brother did the yong King. To whose Natural inclination he did so comply and conform himself, that he had the whole trust of his affairs, and the King had no thoughts but his. So soon as the King began to know himself, he turned impatient

1466.

patient of being subject to the Laws of Minority, that he him. felf should be restrained by that Authority which did derive from him, to loath the Superintendency and Government of others, and to affect an unseasonable Priviledge to be at his own disposal and the governing himself .- Many things are done without the advice of the Governors, and occasion is fought to be disburdened of their Authority. The Lord Boyd and his Brother in a little time increasing in greatness, and having an intention to transfer the Power of the State and Glory of the Court to their Family, fail not to finde opportunity to free the King from the severity and rigour of the Governors Schooling, and to frame him an escape. Whilst the King remained at Linlithgow, the Lord Hayls, Lord Sommervail, Sir Andrew Carre of Cerford, Sir Alexander Boyd, agree upon a match of Hunting, and will have the King Umpire of the Game; Early, the morning following, the Gentlemen who were upon the Plot failed not in their Attendance, The King being a mile off the Town, and holding the way towards Edinburgh, the Lord Kennedy, whose quarter then wasto attend, and who had leafurely followed, suspecting this Hunting to be a Game of States, the King continuing his Progress, laying his hands upon the Reins of his Bridle, requested him to turn again to Linlithgow; for that he perceived the time was not convenient for him to go further, neither was he at a convenient match in absence of his best deserving followers: Sir Alexander Boyd impatient that the King should have been thus stayed, after injurious words stroke the Reverend Governour with a Hunting-staff upon the head, and took the King along with him to Edinburgh. At a frequent meeting of the States, the Kennedies urged to have the King continue under Minority, the Boyds to take the Government in his own Person; after long contestations, wildom being overcome by boldness, the Authority of the better party was forced to give place, and yield to the will of the greater. Thus the Faction of the Boyds prevailed.

After this the Kennedies full of indignation, and breathing Revenge, leave the Court; cares, grief and age about this time brought James Kennedie, Bishop of St. Andrews to his Tomb, which in great magnificence he had raised in a Church builded by himself in the City of St. Andrews: where also he founded a Colledge of Philosophy, and indued it with many Priviledges, and sufficient Endowments to entertain Professors. By the Death of this Prelate, venerable for his Wildom, singular for his Justice and the tranquillity following his Government, and magnificent in all his actions, the Glory of the Court

and Country suffered a great Ecliple

For, he taken away, the Boyds laying Foundations for their power and greatness, began to turn all to their own advantage;

The first mark of their envy was Patrick Graham, the Brother of Bishop James Kennedie by the Mother, who was Sister to' King James the first; after this man had been chosen Bishop of St. Andrews, as the Custom then was, by the Chapter appointed for that Election, he was barred from his Place, and violently repulsed by the Faction at Court: To repair which indignity he made a journey to Rome; where, being a Man noble by birth above others, for his Learning and many Virtues, in a little time, by Pope Sixtus the fourth, he was re-established and confirmed in his Place.

During his abode at Rome, the old Question concerning the liberty of the Church of scotland, began to be exagitated.

The Archbishop of York contested, that he was Metropolitan of Scotland, and that the twelve Bishops of that Kingdom were subject to his Jurisdiction. Patrick Graham remonstrated how the Archbishop of Tork, considering the usual Warsbetween the two Kingdoms, was often unaccessable to the Church-men of Scotland, especially in Causes of appellation. The Pope, after the hearing of both Parties, erected the See of Sr. Andrews to the dignity of an Archbishops See; and Patrick Graham, not only was made Primate and Metropolitan of Scotland, ordained to have the other Bishops under him, but for the space of three years designed Legate for the Pope, with full power to Correct and Restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline; and examine the Manners and Conversation of the Clergy: Notwithstanding these favors of the Bishop of Rome. and the worth and excellencies of the man himself' he dared not return home to his own Country before the declining of the Fortunes of the Boyds.

This Family feemed now in the Zenith and Vertical point of its greatness, no imputation could be laid to the Boyds in the time of their Government, except that they brought the young King by their private working, without the consent and approbation of the other Regents, to Edinburgh, for the assuming the Government in his Minority. In approbation of their innocency, and to warrant them from this danger, the King in a Parliament declareth publickly, that the Boyds were not the Authors, nor Projectors of that bufiness, but only the Assisters of him and his followers, being not formal but instrumentary causes of his coming to the Helm of the State himself: That they were so far from being obnoxious to any blame or reproach for this deed, that they deferved immortal thanks, and an honorable Guerdon in all time to come, having obeyed him in that which was most just, honest and expedient for the well of the Kingdom. Upon this Declaration of the King, the Lord Boyd required the present action might be registrated amongst the Acts of Parliament, and he obtained what was defired, but not with that success was ho-

ped for.

In this Parliament, the other Regents are rid of their charge, the Lord Boyd being made only Governor of the Kingdom, and the object of all mens respects: having the whole power and authority to minister justice of all kinds to the Subjects during the Kings non-age, and till he had fully compleat one and twenty years, the defence of the Kings Person, of his brothers, the keeping of the two Ladies his Sisters, are trusted unto him: He hath all the Towns, Castles, Fortresses, Sea-ports, Places of Importance at his Command. These proceedings of the Parliament seemed to some very strange in advancing Men already great enough, and bestowing upon them all offices of State, and adding power to such who wanted only will to do mischief, except that they knew well how to abase and pull them down again, making their fall the more sudden. Robert Lord Boyd, having the Reins of Government in his hands, and the custody of the Kings Sisters, dazelld with the golden Sun of honour, to lay more fure the foundation of his greatnels, joyneth in Marriage Thomas his eldest Son, a youth of extraordinary endowments, both of minde and body, with Margaret the Kings eldest Sister; Not long before designed by her Mother to have been given in Marriage to Edward Prince of Wales, and he is created Earl of Arran. The Father know ing how easily the conversation of young persons breedeth'a liking, had brought them up together, which turning in a love and delight of others company, concluded last in ma-This match though royal, great and rich, instead of supporting the Fortunes of the Boyds much weakened them turning them the objects of envy. The Nobles repined at it, and the common people (lighter than the wind and more variable than the Rain-bow) made it the subject of their foolish discourses. Now (faid they) the Boyds aspire to the Crown; for the King with his Brothers removed, it appertaineth to them, a Kingdom being the Dowry often of a Wife of the blood Royal. The Kennedies, and such who disliked the prefent Government take the occasion of the discontentment of the Nobility, and the rumors of the people, to shake the Kings minde towards the Governor, and change the brawl of State. To this end they give way to great and universal oppressions, most of which were hatched and occasioned by themfelves. By these in a short time the Commons turn licentious and dissolute, contemning all Government, every man do. ing what seemed best in his own eyes, and the Gentry divide in Factions: Such who wont to live upon Rapine and Theft return to their wonted Trades: honest men are spoiled of their goods; the feditious and wicked are maintained and defended againit

against all Laws and Justice by their Parties. The State thus troubled, and all order confounded, by flie and crafty men, who at first pretended great friendship and interest towards the Boyds, the Kings affection towards them is affailed, and resolutions tryed. Many times having been plausibly listened unto, at last, pulling off their masks, they lay imputations against them. They remonstrate to him what great disparagement was between the King of Scotlands eldelt Sifter and the Son of the Lord Boyd; that by this match he was robbed of one of the fairest jewels of his Crown; the Boyds should not have appropriated that to themselves of wich they had only the keeping: she should have been reserved for some neighbor Prince, by which Alliance the state of the Kingdom, and the Person of the King might have been in great safety. For, if the King should chance to be infested by some insolent nobility, the name and power of a neighbor Prince were sufficient to keep him fafe on his Throne, which by this match was endangered. They suggested that the Boydes builded their estimation in the air of popular ap plause, and endeavored to endear themfelves in the opinion of the multitude. A Prince is not a Lord of that people that loveth another better then him. Should the Boydes be accused of peculate & robbing the King and the common Treasure, the King might make a prey of their unlawful conquest, and by their Attaindors reward the services of many of his necessitated friends, it being acquired most part by spoils and the taxing of the Subjects unlawfully. The height to which their riches was ingreased should be feared; the faults of all the disorders of the Commonwealth are laid upon the Boydes, as the Authors of every breaking out & sedition: that they might the more securely possess the places neer the King At this time complaints from all parts of the Kingdom, and by all forts of persons incessantly being given unto him, advance the intentions of their enemies, and the Kings minde naturally inclined to fears and superstition, being long toffed and perplexed, began to turn away from the Boydes, and with their power in some degrees brought lower and lestened (Preambles of Ruine) but he would go leafurely to produce this effect and make one change bring forth another.

The King increasing in yeers and youthful perturbations, is councelled for the continuing of the Race and Succession, and the keeping his Person without the common disorders of the world, to think upon some match profitable for his country, and honorable for himself. He is courted by many, and courteth others; the Duke of Burgundy had offered him his daughter, as to other Princes his friends and neighbors, but his minde was not to have her married at all during his lifetime.

M 2

Andrew

Andrew Stewart Lord Evandale, then Chancelour of the Kingdom, with the Bishops of Glasgow and Orkenay being sent Embassadors to Christern King of Denmark for an accommodation, and taking up some business concerning the Isles of Orkenay and Schythland 1468. the quarrel was taken away by a marriage to be celebrated between the King and Lady Margaret, King Christerns daughter; a Lady thought worthy of his bed, in respect of the excellency of her beauty, her royal descent and greatness of her birth. All matters being agreed upon, these liles engaged for her Dowry, there wanted onely an honorable retinue and convoy to bring home the To this negotiation, by the craft of some about the King, and vanity of others who gloryed to fee their friend promoted to fuch great hononr, Thomas Earle of Arran, as a man flourishing in fame and riches, and able to maintaine and discharge all magnificence, is deputed as the fittest perfon. Thus by the ambition and unattentiveness of his friends, his worth was made the Scaffold of his ruine; the lamentable condition of men of high defert. In the beginning of the Harvest, accompained with some young Noblemen and Gallants, most of which were his select friends and wellwishers, heascendeth his ships. Whill as the King of Scotlands brother in law, he is some moneths riotously entertained at the Danish Court, the rigor of that Northers climate, by the congealing of the Ocean moored up his ships, and barred all return till the following Spring. In this absence of a man so neer unto the King, his Father and Uncle, by age, fickness and their private affaires, not so frequently haunting the Court as they were accustomed: the Kennedyes and they of the contrary faction having shaken the Kings affection, and broken these bands (his pleasures, idleness, and vacancy from the publike affairs of the State) by which the Boydes thought they had kept him fure, move him, now a little delighting in action, to proceed to the confideration of fuch matters as might be objected against the government of the Bodyes. But that this might not appear to be an act of Faction, but the univerfal confent of the Kingdom apart, a Parliament was summoned to be holden in November at Edenburgh. Here Robert Lord Boyd, with his brother Sir Alexander, are fum. moned to answer in Judgement to such points as should be exhibited against them. At the appointed day the Lord Boyd appeared, but accompanyed with fuch multitude of the common people, and numbers of his friends, vaffals, and followers all in arms, with fuch oftentation and boafting, that the King and Courtiers were well pleased to suffer them dis solve & scatter of their own free wills. At this insolency and malapertness (yet to our own time an usual costome in scot-

land) the King conceived fuch indignation, that he raised a strong guard to attend justice and his commandments, and laid secretly Forces to assist these if the Boydes should oppose his laws by convocation of the Lieges. The Lord Boyd after private intelligence of the Mines of the Court to blow him up, rather amazed then in choler at the change of his Ma-Iters mind, fled into England; his brother Sir Alexander arested by fickness, and relying upon his own integrity more then he ought to have done, confidering the malice of his enemies. was brought before the Parliament; his brother and he were challenged that upon the tenth of July 1466. they laid hands upon the Kings Person, and against his purpose brought him off the high way to the Castle of Calendar; and that by their private power and confent, contrary to the established order of the State, and the other Regents advice, they brought the King to Edenburgh; when Sir Alexander fought to produce an act of Parliament for abolition or approbation of this deed as good service, it was kept up, and he being condemned had his head cut off. Their other acculations contained the topical taults of Favourits, that they had enriched themselves out of the Kings Treasure, monopolized things belonging to the Crown, diminished the Revenues thereof, removed worthy men from the Counsel, placing such in their tooms as had dependency from them. Thomas Earle of Arran imployed in a publike charge by the kingdome, absent, unheard, is declared Rebel with his father, and his moveables escheated to the King: to his original faults was added, that he dared marry the Kings lifter without consent of the States, the King being of non-age. At the noise of this thunder clap, Robert Lord Boyd left this world at Anwick: No sooner had the Spring rendered the Baltick Seas Navigable, when the Danish, Lady with her Fleet Anchored in the Forth: The Earle of Arran who was the Paranymphe and her convoy, in that general gladness, by the perswasions of some of his friends, was preparing to come on shore, and to submit himself to the Kings clemency; but his Lady who had afar discerned his danger. coming aboard disguised, and giving him particular information of the calamity of his bouse, the weakness of his friends at Court, and the many snares envy and malice had laid to surprise him, he hoisted fails, and with her, who would be partaker of all his misfortunes, returned to Den. mark; from Denmark by Germany, he came to King Louys in France, who interposed his requests to King James for his regress and restoring; but the Letters in his favour producing no effects, Charles Duke of Burgunds making war against his Rebel Subjects, he was graciously received by him and entertained as his Ally, his Lady remained at Antwerp, M 2 where

1469.

where she bore him two children, James and Gracile.

Lady Margaret the 10. of July 1469. or after others 1470. maketh her entry into Edenburgh, and scarce having attained the sixteen year of her age, is married to King James in the Abby Church of Holy-rood house; and in the moneth of November following by a convention of the three Estates was

Crowned Queen.

The King inexorable in the behalf of the Earle of Arran, and, breathing his total Ruine, fendeth Letters to Antwerp, filled with promises and threatnings, to move his fifter to return to Scotland. These at the first prevailed nothing with this Lady to make her forfake the husband of her youth; many letters, and from several friends and well-wishers in several fashions and stiles, coming to her, at last she was brought to believe her presence would mollifie the minde of her enemies, and work her husband a re-establishment of his former favors with the King her brother, and restore him to all his possessions and dignities: Upon which hopes she comes to scotland. But these hopes proved all falle; for in stead of having access to her brother, she is kept at Kilmarnock the chief house of the Boydes, as in a free prison; and her husband is fummoned within threescore dayes to adhere to his wife under pain of Divorce: the unfortunate Earle for fear of his head, not appearing, his marraige is declared null; his wife is divorced from him, and is constrained by her brother to marry James Lord Hamilton, to whom also the Earledome of Arran was given for Dowry. Not long after her two children to Earle Thomas, James and Gracille are brought to Scotland who in the proceeding of time proved little more fortunate then their father; for James was flain by Hugh Montgomry of Eglinton, and Gracille though first marryed to the Earle of Cassiles, and after to the Lord Forbess, was barren. Some have recorded that the Earle Thomas, after this violent bereaving him of his wife, dyed of displeasure at Antwerp, and had a Tomb raised over him with an honorable Inscription by Charles Duke of Burgundy; others who hate the Boydes, tell he dyed not at Antwerp but at Florence, and that he waskilled by a Merchant of Florence out of jealousie of having abused his

Queen Maragret the third yeer after her marriage in the month of March brought forth a son who was named James; and Christern King of Denmark to congratulate the happy delivery of his daughter, and of expectation of a continued succession to the Crown of Scotland of his Race, released all the right, title, claim, which he or his successors might have to the Isles of Orkena, & Scythland. The King calleth after a Parliament at Edenburgh, wherein, though the Reformation of

abuses,

abuses, as wearing of silk and other foraign triffles, the building of Ships, and enacting Laws for the present time were pretended, a liberal Subside was the greatest aime. His Exchequer being empty, and many of his best friends turning necessitious and needy, John Lord of the Isles was attainted for his own and his Fathers misdemeanour, the King raiseth sorces to pursue him; the Earle of Cramford being made Admiral, the Earle of Athole the Kings Uncle Lieutenant of the Regiments by land, such means in a short time was used by the Earle of Athole, that the Lord of the Isles submitted himself to the Kings clemency, and in a convention of the States at Edenburgh, he resigned all the right he had to the Earledome of Ross, the lands of Knap-den and Kintyre, which

the King annexed to the Crown.

Patrick Graham Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrews, having at Rome understood the fall of the Boydes returneth to his own countrey; where first amongst his friends, and the most peaceable fort of the Clergy, he divulgateth the Bull of the Pope for his supremacy over the other Churchmen of the Kingdome, and his power of their tryal and promoting to benefices, and after caused proclaim it at all publike places. The laudable Elections anciently used about the Places and Offices of Churchmen by the corruption of the times, being taken away, and that Power altogether assumed by the The Courtiers, who were accustomed to sell Benefices, and the Churchmen who were wont to buy them, reject the Bull, and let themselves against him; by their traffick he is discharged to take the Place or Ornaments of an Archbishop, or carry any other Cross or Cap then what the former Bishops used to have. But here they set not up their rest, William Schevez a man in those times admired for his skil in Astrology, and promoted to be Arch-Dean of Saint Andrews, seconded by John Lock the Rector of that University, a better Grammarian then Christian, excommunicates this Archbishop for his presumption, and that he sought to bear rule over his Brethren Bishops. When this censure had passed upon him, he is degraded and shut up in Prison. William Schevez is after promoted to his place, and confecrated upon the Passion Sunday in Lent at Holy-rood house, the King being present: he likewise receiveth the title and faculty of Legate, and is confirmed Primate of the Realm; notwithstanding the impediments objected to Patrick Graham by the Churchmen concerning that same dignity and preheminencie; So various and deceitful are the wayes of Men.

The King being flow to action, and more inclined to a folitary form of life, then to travel and business; his brothers being Princes of unquiet and restless Spirits, to whom pub-

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like imployments were recreations; and withall being ambitious, prodigal defirous of Rule, and to be Governors of the people themselves, and Kings in fact, however their elder brother was in title; they fet themselves altogether to study novations, and bring the King in contempt with his subjects, and divert their minds and love towards him. To this effect they had drawn by their towardness and familiarity, many of the young Nobles and Gentlemen to follow them. King was obnoxious to some publike scandals, for by his too great frugality, care to increase his Treasure, and study of purchasing, by taxations, sale of Church Benefices, and too exact taking up of fines, supervaluation of Wards; he had gotten the Name of covetous, and was no small distast amongst the Commons. Edward King of England that the Scots by the instigation of the French, should not trouble his new and scarce settled government, imploying all his counfels and diligence to divide them amongst themselves, wrought not alittle on the unquiet spirits of these young men. The Duke of Albany having been taken upon the Seas by the English, was honorably intertained by him, and with great hopes sent home; after which time King Edward and he kept alwayes private intelligence together. The Duke being promoted to the keeping of the Castle of Dumbar and Town of Barwick; the King of England, to infinuate himself in his affection, was wont to whisper unto such who loved him, that if his brother kept not fair with England, he would one day fet him in his Place upon his Royal Throne.

At this time the King was served by men whom his opinion of their worth and love towards him had advanced to places, and whose fortunes and estates wholly depended upon his fafety, and who were less apt to do him harm. His counsel was likewise of men approved for their affection to him; and thus feeluding great men from his familiarity and affairs, he gave them cause of offence. His brothers long masking their ambition under discontentment, stirr the male contents to complain against the Government, which ordinarily falleth forth, not because a people is not well governed, but because great ones would govern themselves. These upbraided the King with inglorious floath, and endeavour by his difhonour to increase the credit of his Brothers. These spared not to speak evil of him every where, and what they pleased of his Ministers and Favorits; they said he neither used rule nor moderation in his proceedings, that his counsel was base, and of men of no great account, who consulted only to humor him; That a Mason swayed 'a Kingdome (this was Robert Cochranne, a man couragious and bold, first known to

hhe

Architect or Surveyor of his buildings, preferred to be of his counsel) a silly Wretch swayd the soul of a great King, and curbed it, as it were interdicted or charmed to his pleasure. His contributions were the rewards of Parasites, to whom fortune, not merit gave growth and augmentation; that honors wept over such base men who had not deserved them; and the stately frames of ancient houses upbraided with reproaches the slender merits of those new-up-starts who enjoyed them; that he began to look downwards into every sordid way of enriching himself: That his Privadoes abused him in every thing, but in nothing more then in making him believe, what was plotting against them, was against his Person and Authority; and that it was not them his brothers and the Nobility sought to pull down but his Soveraignty.

His counfellors, fervants, and fuch who loved him, having long busied their wits to save their Masters reputation, and that no shadow of weakness should appear to the Common people, understanding by whom these rumors were first spread abroad, and observing many of the Nobility and Gentry to favour the proceedings of his brothers, not daring disclose themselves to the King what their suspicions made them fear would come to pais, knowing him naturally fuperstitious, an admirer and believer of Divinations, suborn an aged woman one morning as he went a hunting to approach him, and tell, she had by Divination, that he should beware of his nearest kinsemen; that from them his ruine was likely to come. This was no fooner told when the woman was shifted, and some who were upon the Plot began to comment the Prophesie of his brothers. A Profesior of Phyfick, for his skill in Divination brought from Germany, and promoted to some Church-benefice, about that same time tol-1 the King, that in Scotland a Lyon should be devoured by his Whelps. William Schevez, then Archbishop of Saint Andrews, by way of Astrological predictions, put him in a fear of imminent dangers from his kindred, though truly he had his knowledg by Geomancyand good informations upon earth, by the intelligence between the Nobility and Church-

Many such like aspersions being laid upon the King, the people cryed out that he had only for his fellow-companions Astrologers and Sooth-sayers, whom as occasion served, he preserred to Church-benefices and Bishopricks. Patrick Graham, then Prisoner in Dumsferling, a man desolate and forgotten, as if there had not been such a man in the world, taking the opportunity of the rumors of the time, sent a Letter to the King, which contained.

that the misery of his imprisonment, was not so greivieus unto him as the sad reports which he heard of his Majestyes estate; he was hardly brought to believe them, but by his long detention and imprisonment, he was assured his great enemy was in great credit with him. That he had brought the King very low in making him jealous of his brothers by giving trust to his vain Divinations; and no wonder these Arts bring forth disentions, which have their precepts from the father of lyes and discord: to soment discord among brothers, was reproachful to Religion, and outragious to Policy; to seek to know things to come by the Stars was great ignorance, that Oracles leave a man in a wilderness of folly.

That there was no other difference betwixt Necromancy and Astrology, saving that in one, men run voluntarily to the Divel, and
in the other ignorantly. Humanity attains not to the secrets above,
and if it did, it is not wise enough to divert the wisdom of heaven, which is not to be resisted, but submitted unto; that never
any had recourse to these Arts, but they had fatal ends; that Almighty providence permitting that to befal them out of his justice
of necessity, which before the Oracle was sought, was scarce contingent; that he should rest upon the Almightyes Providence, and then
all things would succeed well with him, whose favors would wast

him out of the surges of uncertainties.

After this free opening of his minde, Patrick Graham was removed out of Dumferling to the Castle of Lock-leven (a place renowned long after by the imprisonment of Marg Queen of Scotland) where in a short time he left the miseryes

of this world:

The people now throughly deceived and incensed against their King, the most audacious of the Nobility had brought his brotherson the way of taking the Government to themfelves, their power being able to perform what their ambition projected; and the murmuring of the people feeming to applaud any Infurrections. The Earle of Marr, young and rath, purblind in forefeeing the events of things, is firred up to begin the Tragedy; some of the Nobility of his faction being present, with more liberty then wisdom, he broke out in meanacing and undecent speeches, as that his brother did wrong to his Majesty in keeping neer him, and being so familiar with such contemptible fellows, as these of his Bedchamber and Officers; withal, railing against the Government of the State and Court. The King passionately releating his words, caused remove him from his presence, and he perfevering in his railing, was committed to the Castle of Craigmillar, where farmifing that he was in a Prison, his anger turned into a rage, his rage kindled a Feaver, and his Feaver advanced to a Phrensie: This sickness increasing, that he might be more neer to the Gourt and his friends, in the night

he istrate sported to the Cannons Gate in Edenburgh : the King compaffionate of his difease, sendeth his Physitians to attend him; they, to restore his understanding which was molested. open some veins of his head and armes, in which time whether b, his own disorder and misgovernment in his sickness, the bands being loofed which tyed the lancing, or that they took to great a quantity of blood from him, he fainted, and after fowning, dyed unawares amongst the hands of his best friends These who hated the King, gave out that he and fervants. was taken away by his command, and some writers have recorded the same; but no such faith should be given unto them, as to B.W. E. who was living in that time, and whose records we have followed, who for his place could not but know, and for his profession would not but deliver the very truth; certain Witches and Sorcerers being taken & examined and convicted of Sorcery at this time, and being suborned. they confelled that the Earle of Marre had dealt with them in prejudice of the King, and to have him taken away by incantation. For the Kings Image being framed in wax, and with many tpels and incantations baptized, and fet unto a fire, they perswaded themselves the Kings Person should fall away as that Image confumed by the fire, and by the death of the king the brothers should reach the Government of the State; with fuch vanities was the common people amosed.

Alexander Duke of Albany imputing the death of his brother to the favourits of the King, and avouching them to have been the occasioners of his distraction, stirred the Nobility and People to revenge fo foul a deed; but whilft he keeps private meetings with them of his Faction in the Night to facilitate their enterprise, betrayed by some of his followers, he is surprised, and imprisoned in the Castle of Edenburgh. Out of which about the appointed time of his tryal, by the killing of his keeper he escaped, and in a Ship which to that effects was hired, failing to the Castle of Dumbar, of which he had thekeeping, he passed to France. After the escape of the Duke of Albany, the Lord Evandale Chancellor of the Kingdome, railing the power of the nearest Shires, beleaguered the Castle of Dumbar : the belieged unprovided of victuals, as men expecting no such alterations, betake themselves in small Boates to the Sea, and came safe towards the Coasts of England. The Castle having none to defend it, istaken; fome Gentlemen in persuit of the flying souldiers, by their

own rashness perished.

The Kings of Scotland and England tossed along with civil troubles, and affecting peace with all their neighbors, by an equal and mutual consent of thoughts send at one time Ambassadors to one another, who first conclude a peace between the two Nations; and that the Posterity might be partakers

of this accord, contract afterwards an Alliance between the two Kings. It was agreed that the Princels Cicilia youngest daughter to King Edward, should marry with James Duke of Rothfay, when they came to yeers of discretion. A motion Heard with great acceptance; but it was thought by sometamiliar with King Edward and in his most inward Counsels, that really henever intended this mariage, and that this negoriation aimed onely to temporize with Scotland, in cafe that Louys of France should stir up an invasion of England by the King of Scotland. King Louys at this time had fent one Doctor Ireland a Sorbonist to move King James to trouble the Kingdome of England, and to give over the projected marriage; which when King Edward understood, knowing what a distance was between things promised and performed, to oblige King James, and ty him more strongly to the bargain, that this marriage might have more fway, he caused for the present maintenance of the Prince, and as it were a part of the Dowry of Lady Cicilia, deliver certain fums of money to King James. Notwithstanding of which benevolence the the witty Longs wrought so with the Scottish Nobility, that King James fent Ambassadors to the King of England, entreating him not to affift the Duke of Burgundy his brother in Law against King Lonys, which if he refused to do, the Nobility of scotland who were now turned infolent, would constrain him by reason of the ancient league between the French and the Scots to affift the French.

The Duke of Albany during his aboad in France, had marryed a daughter of the Earle of Bullogine ( she was his second wife, his first having been a daughter of the Earle of Orkenay, a Lady of great parentage, and many friends) who incessantly importuned King Louys to aide the Duke for the recovery of his inheritance and places in the State of Scotland, out of which he was kept by the evil Counsellors of his brother. Louys minding to make good usecf his brother, and underhand increasing discords and jealousies between him and the King of England, flighting his suites told him, he could not justifie histaking of Armes to settle a Subject in his inheritance; That Princes ought to be wrought upon by perlwafion, not violence, and he should not trouble a King otherwayes then by Prayers and Petitions, which he would be earnest to perform. Upon this refusal the Duke of Albany (having burryed his Dutchesse) troubled with new thoughts came to England. King Edward with accustomated courtesies receiving him, giveth him hopes of affiltance, entring of in communication with him how to divert the Kingdome of Scotland from the invasion of his Dominions at the defire of the French, the Agents and traffickers of Lonyslying stillin Scot-

land,

land, and daily bribing and foliciting the Scots Nobility to necessitate the English to stay at home. The Duke freely, and in the worst sente revealed the weakness of his Kingdom, that his King was opinionative, and had nothing of a Prince in him but the name: His ungoverned Spirit disdained to listen to the temperate Counsell of lober men, obeying only his own judgement. Such who govern'd under him, were mean persons and of no account, great only by his favour, and indued with little vertue, who ruling as they lifted, and excluding all others, made use of his Authority for their own profit and advantage. The Nobility were malecontents, and affected a change in the Government; which might be easily brought to pass by the affistance of King Ed. ward. If he would help to raise some civil broyls and dis. cention in the Nation it selse, he needed not to be in fear that they could or would trouble his Country by any invafion: The King hearing the Duke manifest what he most affected, approving his judgement, promifed himall necesfaries, and what he could defire to accomplish the defign: and he undertaketh by some fair way to traffick with the Nobility of Scotland for an alteration of the present form of Government. After a dangerous intelligence, the Lords of scotland, who under the shadow of the publick good, but really out of their disdain and particular interests, conspired against the King, send the Duke word, the golden Age could not be fram'd, nor Arms taken for the good of the Common-wealth, nor the State alter'd, without the sequestring of those from the King who misgovern'd him. And these could not be remov'd by that power which was amongst themselvs, without great danger and trouble, considering the Kings faction and the malignant Party. If King Edward would agree to the raising of an Army in England, in favour of the Duke of Albanie, and for restoring him to his Places and inheritance, out of which he was most unjustly ejected: and other pretences, of which they should afford the occasions; which no way should do harm to the Kingdom of Scotland disorder'd already, and laid waste, more by the license of a Tyrant in peace, then it could have been by war; and at this time bestow upon them favours, as they might one day hereafter challenge to receive the like; The Nobility of Scotland should be ready with an other Army, not to fight, but to seize upon the Kings Favourits, and Misgovernors of the State: for which the English should have many thanks. That this Enterprize could not but prove most successfull, the hatred of the Commons considered against such violent oppressions. The King was fallen into so low elteem, that affaulted by the English, he would be constrain'd by the submission of his Crown to intreat for safety. The King

King of England understanding this was to touch the finest string of State and Dominion (for it is a matter of much consequence and main importance, to defend the subjects of an other Prince; for under this Mask and pretence of protecting the Liberties of a People, of assistance and aid, an usurpation and oppression of all liberty might be hidden; and many have established and settled themselves in those Kingdoms, which they came to relieve from tyranny, and the oppression of their Rulers, keeping by force what was granted to them at first by way of trust, and under the colour of helping usurped a Soveraignty) agreeth easily to what was

demanded and resolved upon.

The Lords of the Affociation to play more covertly their Game, and mask their intentions (the Commonsever suffering and paying for the faults and errors of the great ones) give way for the breaking loofe of the Borderers. Fierce incursions by the English are made upon Scotland, and by the scots upon England, some Villages on either side are burnt. The secrecy to this business, which was inviolably observed, was of great importance, which is the principal knot and ty of great affairs. Rumours are spread that the Dukes of Gloucester and Albany, with Iames late Earl of Dowglass, and Alexander Ierdan and Patrick Halyburton, men proscrib'd, and upon whose heads a price was set, were at Annick with a powerful Army, and in their march towards Kelloo. The King wakened out of his Trances by the Alarms of his No. bility and clamours of the people, made proclamations to all between fixty years and fixteen to meet him at Edenburgh. and to be in readiness to oppose their old enemies of England now come upon the Borders.

bled by the Nobility, which confifted of and a number of Certs charged with small Ordinance. New incursions being blazed to have been made by the English, the King amidst these Troops marched to Lawder. The Army was encamped, and all things Ordered the best way the

After many delayes and much loytering an Army is affem.

occasion could suffer them, little or nothing being left to Fortune, if the English should invade, whom the Lords knew were not at all yer gathered, and though gathered, and in a Body, and upon the Borders, or nearer, would never in-

vade them.

The King at this time is marvellously perplexed, and become suspitious of the intentions of his Nobility in this Army, in this consusion of thoughts, fell upon two extremes. In his demeaner and conversation too familiar and inward with his old Domestick Servants and favourites, which rendred them insolant (believing the bare name of King to be sufficient whilst weakness and simplicity had made him despised, and them hated) and too retired, reserved and estranged from his Nobilitie, which made them malicious.

This he did as his pensiveness conjectured, that his Nobles should not attempt any thing to the prejudice of his royal Authority, independent of any Council. But what he most feared came to pass; he resolved and dispatched all matters by his Cabinet Counsel: wherethe Surveyor of his Buildings was better acquainted with the affairs of the State than the gravest of his Nobility. This preposterous course of favour made the great men of the Kingdom to fall headlong upon their rash, though long projected attempt. After many private conferences in their Pavilions, the Chiefs of the Insurrection, as the Earls of Angues, Lennox, Huntley, the Lords Gray, Lile and others, about midnight come together in the Church of Lander with many Barons and Gentlemen. Here every of them urging the necessity of the times, and the dangers the Common-wealth was like to fall into, requireth speedy resolutions: and having before premeditated deliberated and concluded what to follow, they draw up a League and confederation of mutual adherence in thisorder.

Forasmuch as the King suffereth himself to be governed by mean persons and men of no account, to the contempt of the Nobility, and his best Subjects, and to the great loss of the Commons: The confederates confidering the imminent dangers of the Kingdom, shall endeavour to separate the Kings Majestie from these naughty upstarts, who abuse his Name and Authority, and despise of all good men; and have a care that the Common-wealth receive no dammage. And in this quarrel they shall all stand mutually every one to the defence of another. The delign agreed upon, and the confederacy fworn, the chiefs of them in Arms enter the Kings Pavilion, where, after they had challenged him of many miforders in his Government, contrary to his honour, the Laws. and good of his Kingdom, they took Sir William Roger, a man from a Musitian, promoted to be a Knight, James Homill, Robert Cochran, who of a Surveyor of his works was made Earl of Mar, or as some mittigate that title, Intromittor and taker up of the Rents of that Earldom, by whose devise (some Authors have alleged) copper moneys had been coyned, by which a dearth was brought amongst the Commons; which (as others have recorded) was an unjust imputation, forthat copper money was coined in the Minority of the King, in the time of the Government of the Boyds, with others. All these being convicted by the clamours of the

Army,

7:6

## The History of the Reign

Army, were immediately hanged upon the Lidder. John Ramsey a youth of eighteen years of age, by the intreaties, Prayers, embraces of the King was preserved. Thus they the late objects of envy, were turn'd and become the objects of Pity and Compassion. The body of the Commons and the Gentry of the Kingdome by this notorious act at Lander, being engaged, and being made Partakers of the Quarrel of the discontented Noblemen, and for their own aftery tyed to second and assist all their intentions, and to advance their ends: The King is conveyed to Edenburgh, and shortly after he either enclosed himself in the Maiden Castile as his lodging, or, which is more probable, was there, by the contrary section committed as his Prison, the Earl of Athele and some other Lords being appointed to attend him.

During this time the general humour of the kingdom being ripe for mischiet, Alexander Duke of Albany (every thing talling right as it was plotted) prevailed so with King Edward that the Duke of Gloncester the King of Englands Brother, with the title of Lieutenant general for him fet forwards toward Scotland. The Army confifted of two and twenty thousand and five hundred. In his retinue went of the Nobility, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Lord Stanley; with them was the Duke of Albany. The Earl of Dowglass came not, being referved for an after game. Duke of Albany having been before Commander of Eerwick, and a Man who was still in his absence beloved of that Garrison, diverted the Duke of Gloucester from Annick where he had incamped in lune, to affail the Town of Bermick. his intelligence they enter the Town without great opposition, and it is given up to their discretion. The Castle by the Lord Haills the Captain, was made good against their as-T e Duke of Gloucester fore-seeing that this Siege would spend much time, considering the uncertainty of events, and being invited to march forward by the Lords of the allociation of Scotland, committing the charge of affaili the Castle to the Lord Stanley, Sir John Elrington, and Sir William Parr, with the body of the Army marched directly to E nlugh.

The Countrey lay open to their invalion; no Army taking the Field to oppose them, they came in Scotland the twentieth day of Angust 1482. the Army encamped at Restlerig, the Duke himself entred the Town of Edenburgh which at the intreaty of he Duke of Albany, who was his Harbinger, he spar'd, receiving such presents as the Citizens offer'd unto him: His entry seeming rather a Triumph than hostile invasion. The King being shut up so n him and immured in the Castle, the Duke by a publick writing at the Market Places gave out

high

-1482.

## IAMES the third. 99 high Demands; That King James should perform what he had covenanted with his Brother King Edward; That he should give satisfaction for the damage done the English during the last inroads of the Borders, which if he retuled to accomplish, He as Lievtenant to his Brother was to exact of him and take satisfaction of his Countrey, denouncing him open war, and proclaiming him all Hostility. King lames for taken of his People, and wrong'd by his Lords, laying afide his Passions, and taking to him more moderate and discreet thoughts, as a Man in Prison, answered nothing to his Demands. The Lords, who by their Kings misfortune had reckoned their felicity, having obtain'd what they chiefly desir'd, to obviate the common and last danger, the thraldom of their kingdom by these strangers whom they had drawn into the Country for the recovery of their Liberties, affemble themselves together at Hadington with some Companies, not to fight but to supplicate. They sent the Lord Darnley and the elected Bishop of Murray to intreat a suspension of Arms, and require a firm and lasting Peace for time to come: beginning of the war, and taking of Arms was for the fafety of this the neighbour Countrey of England, miserably thrald by a licentious Prince: there was nothing more unworthy of a King or Republick, than not to keep their promifd The English could have no colour for executing their indignation further upon this Countrey, which already by the rapine of their own Men was impoverish'd and unmanui'd: Only now to be recover'd by entertaining Peace with their Neighbours, and amongst themselvs. They require that the Marriage contracted between the Prince of Rothefay and Lady Cicily King Edwards Daughter might be accomplish'd when it should please the King of England, and the age of the two Princes might suffer it. For any spoyl taken in these last incursions, the interest consider'd upon both sides, satisfaction should be given out of the publick contributions. The Duke of Glocester as forgetting and feeming not to know the grounds of their coming into the Country, and looking to nothing more then his own fame and Glory, Answer'd, his coming into Scotland, was to right the honour of his Country to often violated: and to restore the Duke of Albanie, unjustly commanded to exile, to his own native foyl, and the dignity of his Birth: as concerning the Mariage of the Prince of Scotland with the Daughter of England, Heknewnot how his Brothers resolution stood

at the present; whereupon he requir'd repayment of the monies lent to their King upon the first agreement: and withall a delivery of the Castle of Barwick up into his hands: or if

they

they could not make the Castle to be render'd, they should give their oaths upon the holy Evangelists that they should neither assist the besieged, nor harm the Besiegers, till the Castle were either by sorce taken, or upon fair conditions rendred.

The Lords having received this answer, yielded freely to all the Conditions, except they found themselves perplex. ed in the rendring of Berwick: it being a Town of old appertaining to the Crown of Scotland, though by force and violence the English had a long time kept it, that did not take away their right and title. After much contesting, agreeing to the furrender of Berwick, they defired that the walls of the Town should be demolished, that it might not be a place of Tyrannie and incursion over their bordering Countreys. No arguments could prevail against the Duke of Gloncesters resolutions, and being stronger in power he persever'd in his demands, and in all likelihood this was agreed upon be. tween the Duke of Albany and the confederate Lords, and the English, beforetheir entring Scotland. Thus the Castle and Town of Bermick returned to the English the 24. of Anguft 1482. after it had been delivered by Queen Margarite to gain Sanduary for her Husband King Henry ( when expelled England) and remained in the possession of the Scots twenty and one years.

They likewise appointed a day for restitution of all the moneys lent by King Edward, and promised upon a sull discussion to make satisfaction for all dammages done the English by any in-road of the Scottish Borders. For the Duke of Albanies provision, whose safety was principally pretended in this expedition, a general pardon was promised for him and all his followers; Together with an abolition of all discontents; Whereby he had given unto him the Castle of Dumbar, with the Earldoms of Mar and March; he should be reinvested in all his former Dignities and Places, and by consent of the Nobility of Scotland, he was proclaim'd Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

The Peace proclaimed, the Duke of Gloucester in all solemnity of greatness returned towards London, being welcomed by the King with many demonstrations of great joy. He to show how much he approved the conditions of this Peace, went solemnly in procession from St. Stevens Chappel, now the Parlament House, accompanied with the Queen his Sister, and a mighty retinue of the greatest Lords into Westminster Hall. Where in presence of the Earl of Angus, the Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddale, Embassadours extraordinary

dinary from Scotland, the peace was ratifyed. At the return of the Scots Embassadours to their Countrey, King Edward sent an Herauld with them, who in his Masters name gave over the marriage contracted between the Lady Cicilia and the Prince of Rothfay, and required the money which had been delivered upon hopes of confummation to his King. The Citize ns of Edenburgh had given their Bond for the redelivery, and a day being granted to them for the payment, they at the appointed day intirely delivered the fum. Some thought King Edward recalled this marriage of a sufpition he conceived, that the Ambition of the Duke of Albany, and the hatred of the Subjects against their King amidst the manifold distractions of the Realm, might hazard the Succession of the Prince of Rothsay to the Crown. But King Edward having gained what he had endeavoured most to acquire, a division amongst the Nobles of Scotland, and by this a Security from their affifting the French, rejected the Match. Besides the Duke of Gloucester, who after his comming in Scotland, was laying the foundations of the ufurping the Crown of England, his Brother once dead, thought the alliance of his Brothers Daughter with a King of Scotlan 1, too trong a Support to that Race, which he was to declare Bastards, and a Rock upon which he was confident he should make a fearful ship wrack. Neither his Brothers Daughter being marryed to a King of fuch martiall and turbulent Subjects as the people of scotland, durst he ever attempt the taking away of her Brothers: and King Edward in neglect of this match committed a greater errour of State than he did in his marrying the Lady Elizabeth Gray, and forfaking the Lady Bona Daughter to the Duke of Savoy.

According to the Records of some Authors whilst the King is kept nine Moneths in the Castle of Edinburgh, the Duke of Albany, the Lord Evandale Chancellour, the Earl of Arguile, the Arch bishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Athole his Uncle (who for the preservation of his person and honour of his Office accepted the charge to attend him in that Fortress) governed the State.

The King (say the honest Records) had all honour which appertained to a Prince, save that he could not come abroad, and none was permitted to speak unto him, except in the audience of some one of his Lords Keepers; and that his Chamber doors were shut before the setting of the Sun and long after the rising opened. Proclamations are publisht in his name and Authority, and other publick writings. Such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free

and absolute Prince, when near he was but a King in phantasie, and his Throne but a Picture, the regal Authority being turned into a cloak to cover the Passions of those who

did govern.

The Duke of Albany dayly importuned by the folicitations, Prayers and tears of the Queen (a calm and temperate Lady) for her Husbands Liberty; finding himselfinot so respected by the other Governours as his birth and merits did deserve; being a man who delighted in nothing more than in changes and novations of Court and State: after fo many scorns and rebukes offered to his Brother, and King, commiserating his long sufference, and believing that good turns would make past offences be forgotten, and recent benefits were fufficient to blot away old injuries, withall remembrance of former discontents, whilst the other Governours at Sterling, securely passed the time, posted in the night to Edenburgh. Here a meeting being appointed of some of his friends and Vaffals, who knew nothing of his intentions, by the affistance of the Civizens of Edenburgh (men intirely loving their King and devoted to him all the time of the infurrection of his Nobles) who gave the first assault, (yet was it rather their intelligence than force) the Castle is surprised. the King and all his Servants fet at libertie. This unexspected and noble act of the Duke of Albany, having so fortunate a fuccess, brought a mighty change on the Court and State. The King is now again reinstall'd, and hath this residence in his own Palace, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen, have frequent concourse; rejoicing to see such evident tokens of love pass between the two Brothers, if their affection could have continued. The Provost and Baylies of Edinburgh in recompence of their service, were made Sheriffs within all the bounds of their own Territories, and rewarded with other privileges contained in that patent, which they call their golden Charter 1482. The Lords of the contrary faction, who remained at sterlin, by this new accident, betook themselves to new thoughts and considerations, every man full of fears and repinings flying to his own dwelling place, and conceaving a great hatred against the Duke They faid he was inconstant, rash, mad, in setting at liberty the man who would prove his Executioner, and one who would never forget any profer'd injury: that if he perished before them, it was but his own just deserving and procurement. The Duke contemning those reproaches, and answering their calumnies and evil words with patience and good deeds, by the mediation of the Earl of Angus, studied a reconciliation between the King and his discontented Lords. And his endeavours had such good success, that in a

fhort time atter this Atonement; fome of them turned fo familiar and inward with the King, that, like the Ivy, they began to sap the wall by which they had been supported. They made the wound of the Kings old jealoufies ranckle again, and added poison to former discontents; remembring him of the unnaturalness of his Brothers first Rebellion, and affuring him that his antient Ambition had yet more power of him than his new fears of honelty and respect. That howfoever he shewed outwardly the arguments of a reconciled Brother, he loved yet to govern, and aimed at the Crown. That he had wrought his liberty to bring a greater confusion in the State than he had ever done before. The King, who ever had a watchful eye over his reconciled Enemies, and who defired to be freed and fairly quited of them all, gave way to their calumnies. And they after long deliberation refolve upon a plot to bring the Duke within compassof law: and summoned him to answer upon Treason. And this was the rendring of the Town of Berwick to the English: which they undertook to prove was only by his intelligence, procuration and being in company with the Duke of Gloucester, in that expedition. Though the Duke had an absolute and general pardon and an abolition for all was past, and the Kings hand at it, they doubted not to null and make it void. All being done by a King constrained by a powerful Army, and a close prisoner, which writing could not oblige any private man far less a King: what he then bargained was upon constraint and yielded unto upon hopes of laving his life, and an act exacted by force. The Duke of Albany finding by the malice and detraction of a malignant faction, his brothers countenance altered towards him: and danger the requital of his late setting him at liberty, the established reconciliation being shaken by suspitions and fancy of revenge, obeying necessity, fled to his Castle of Dumbar, out of which hecame to England to present to King Edward and the Duke of Gloucester the consideration of his grievances.

In his absence he is convinced of many points of treason, besides the being accessarie to the taking of Berwick by the English. As his dangerous and long intelligence with the King of England: his sending of many Messengers at all occasions unto him. That, without any safe-conduct or pass from his Brother, and not so much as acquainting him. he had lest the Countrey, come into England to devise conspiracies against his King and native Kingdom. The Lord Creighton as his friend associate and complice, is forefeited with him, against whom Informations were given, that often and divers times, under the pretence of hunting, secretly with the Duke as Albany, he road into England, and there

meeting

meeting with Commissioners sent by King Edward, he deliberated of matters concerning novations and of the altring the state, That there he kept appointments with James Earl of Dowglass, the often quench'd fire-brand of his Country. That in spight of the Kings forces sent there to lie in Garrison, he kept the Castle of Creighton. The greatest discontent the King conceived a gainst him was love to one of his Sisters, and some seminine jealousies. When the Duke understood the proceedings against himself and the Lord Creighton, and that for their contumacy and not appearing to answer and give in their answer, they were convict of Treason, and their lands to be seased upon; He caused give up the Castle of Dumbar, of which he was Lieutenant, to King Edward, who immediately placed by Sea a Garrison in it.

About this time Edward King of England left this world 1483. and his brother Richard Duke of Gloncester, did first take the name of Protector and Governor of the Kingdom of England, and after his brothers Sons put in the Tower, and their Mother the Queen taking Sanctuary, in the moneth

of June possest himself of the Crown.

The Duke of Albany finding that Richard by his change of Fortune had not changed his affection towards him, imploreth his aid in restoring him to his own, and repairing not his wrongs alone, but a wrong done in his sufferings to the King of England, sith there was now an open breach of the Truce and Peace so solemnly by him set down and confirmed by his Brother. If he could be surnished but with a few number of choice men of reputation and power to pass into scotland, and take a tryal of the Minds and good will of his striends and confederates, he douted not at his entring the Countrey to finde numbers who by his presence would hazzard upon the most desperate dangers.

Richard finding the man his Supplicant with whom he endeavoured once an intire trincship, and whose advancement in Authority he had most studied, condescendeth that five hundred men and Horses should be chosen upon the borders, with others who were ontlawes and necessitated sometime to make incursions, and with James the old Earl of Douglase, a man well known and renowned in the West-borders, should

make an in-road into Scotland.

The two and twentie day of July, the banished Champion having chosen a good number of their borderers put forward towards Loch. Maben to surprize a Fair, spoil a publick Market, seise upon all the Buyers and Sellers, which here meet and traffick every St. Magdalens sessival, under pretence of Devotion and the liberty of trading many English had hither resourced: at the twelfth hour of the day when the Mer-

chants

chants and Countrey-people were in greatest security, the burie is invaded and not bloud but wares sought after; the Lard of Johnstoun who was warden, and lard of Cock-pool, with many stout borderers having surveyed and Ridden through the places where the people were met, to prevent and hinder all disorders and dangers, at the noise of an incursion of the English, dispatch Poasts to the adjacent bounds for supply, and in the mean time rencounter the plunderers of the Fair. Here is it sought with greater courage than force, and in a long continued skirmish the danger of the loss stir'd up and incited the parties as much as same and glory.

The day was neer spent leaving the advantage to either side disputable, when the supply of fresh men come to defend their Countrey, and friends turned the Fortune of the fight, and put the English borders all to the rout. The Duke of Albany by the swiftness of his Horse, and the good attendance of his Servants winneth English ground: but the Earl of Donglass loaden and heavy with years and armes, is taken by Robert Kirken-patrick (who for that service got the lands of Kirk-michael ) and brought as in triumph to Edenburgh. It is recorded that when the Earl was come in the Kings presence. heturn'd his back & refused to look him in the face, considering the many outrages he had perpetrated against his Father. and this late offence. The King taken with the goodly personage, gravity and great age of the man, commiserating his long patience and crossfortune being in his young daies defigned to be a Church-man, confined him as in a free Prison in the Abacy of Lyndores.

Besides he considered that when occasion served he might bring him out of this solitariness, and in these turbulent times by his counsel and presence play more advantageously his game of State, being a man of long experience in the affairs of the world, and the most learned of all his Nobility. He was now become tyred of the Earl of Anguis, the remembrance of his first offence remaining deeply ingraven in his heart, and to counterpoile his greatness this was the only weight. The Duke of Albany found little better entertainment in England, the battel being loft, some men taken and killed (this being the first roade upon Scotland under the reign of Richard, who had been formerly fofortunate in his own person) his fame injur'd, and reputation by this diminished, the Duke began to be disliked, and was not received with that kindness he was wont, whereupon by the affistance and convoy of John Liddale, he secretly retired to France.

After the road of Lochmaben fundry incursions are made by the Scots upon the English borders, and by the English upon the Scottish: The Champian ground is scoured, houses

are burnt, bootiestaken, with great loss to both, and little advantage to any of the parties. Richard having his reign in the infancy, and not yet fettled nor come to any growth and maturity, being obnoxious to the scandal of his Brothers Sons, and possessed with fears of Henry Earl of Richmond then remaining in France, who by all honest and good men was earnestly invited to come home, and hazard one day of battail for a whole Kingdom, knowing it necessary for the advancement of his deligns to have peace with all his neighbour Princes, to render himselt more secure and safe at home. and terrible to his enemies abroad, sendeth Embassadours to Scotland to treat a Peace, or a suspension of Arms for som years; King James no soflier rocked in the Cradle of State than Richard; chearfully accepteth this Embassage; for by a peace he may a little calm the stormy and wild minds of tumultuous Subjects, reducing them to a more quiet fashion of living, and seclude his Rebels and banisht from entertainment in England, and all places of Refuge and Sanctuary. The two Kings agreeing in substance, Commissioners are appointed to meet at Nottingham the seventeenth day of september. For the King of scotland appear'd the Earl of Arend, William Elphinstoun Bishop of Aberdeen, the Lord Drummond of Stobball, the Lord Olyphant, Archebald Whitelaw Secretary, Doncan Dundass, Lyon King of Arms. For Richard of England appeared the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Stanley, the Lord Gray, the Lord Fitshugh, John Gunthrope privy Seal, Thomas Borrow, Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Bryan Chief Justice.

In the latter end of Septemb these conclude a peace between both Realms for the space of 3 years. The same to begin at the rising of the Sun Septem. 29. in the year 1484, and to continue unto the setting of the Sun on the 29. of Sept. in the year 1487. During which time it was aggreed that not only all hostility and war should cease between the two Realms, but that also all sid and affishance against enemies should be afforded.

It was agreed, the Town and Castle of Bermick should remain in the hands of the English for the space of the fore said term, with the same bounds the English possessed.

That all other Castles, Holds, Fortresses during the term of the eyears should remain in the hands of those that held them at that present, the Castle of Dumbar only excepted, which the Duke of Albany delivered to the English when he letchis Countrey. Which Castle for the space of six moneths should be exposed to the invasion of the Scots, if they could obtain it, and during the assaulting of this Castle, the Truce should not be broken. Neither should the English within the Castle do any harm to the Scots dwelling thereabouts, except

to those who invade the Castle, and at that time. And that it should be lawful to any of the Parties to use all Statagems, and extend their power either for winning or defending the said Castle.

It was agreed, That no Traitor of either Realm should be received by any of the Princes of the other Realms: and if any Traitor or Rebell chance to arrive in either Realm, the Prince therof should deliver him upon demand made.

Scots abiding within the Realm of England and sworn there to the King, may remain Still, so there names be made known to the

King of Scotland within fourty daies.

If any Warden of either Realm hall invade the others Subjects, be to whom such a Warden is subject shall within six daies, proclaim him Traitor, and certific the other Prince thereof within twelve daies.

In every safe conduct this Clause shall be contained, Providing alwaies that the Obtainer of the safe Conduct be no Traitor.

If any of the Subjects of either Prince, do presume to aid and help maintain and serve any other Prince, against any of the Contractors of this Truce, Then it shall be lawful for him to whom he shewed himself enemy, to apprehend and attach the said subject, comming or tarrying within any of their Dominions.

Collegues comprehended in the Truce (if they would assent thereunto) on the English part were, the King of Castile, the King of Arragon, the King of Portugal, the Arch-Duke of Austria and Burgundy the Duke of Bretaign. Upon the Scottish part, Charles King of Denmurk and Norway, The Duke of Guilderland, this treaty was appointed to be published the first of October in all the great and notable Towns of both Realms.

It was agreed that Commissioners should meet at Loch maben the 18. of November as well for redress of wrongs done on the west Marches, as for declaring and publishing the peace, where

the greatest difficultie was to have it observed.

Richard after this truce intreated a marriage between the Prince of Rothsay eldest Son to King James, and Lady Anne de la Pool, Daughter to John Duke of Suffolk of his Sister. To this effect Embassadours meet at Nottingham, others say at Tork, and it is concluded. Writings thereupon being drawn up. ingrossed and seal'd. And affiances made and taken up by Proctors and Deputies of both parts. Lady Anne thereafter being stiled the Princess of Rothsay. But by the death of her Uncle she injoyed not long that title:

After the league and intended marriage, King lames wrote friendly letters to Richard concerning the Castle of Dumbar, Whether he could be content that the same should remain only six moneths in the power of the English, or during the whole space of True? That he was not minded to seek it

by arms during the term of the whole Truce. Notwith-standing he earnestly required out of the bond of Love and Frindship between them, since it was given unto the English by Treason, and neither surprised nor taken in lawful war, it might be frindly rendred. Richard dallyd with him, and pass'd away that purpose with complemental Letters all the time of his Government, which was not long; for the year 1486. Henry Earl of Richmond came with some companies out of France (of which that samous Warriour Bernard Stuart Lord Anbany, Brother to the Lord Darnley in Scotland, had the leading) which by the resort of his Countrey men turned into an Army, and rencountred Richard at Bosworth where he was killed, and Henry proclaimed King of England: To which victory it was uncertain whether virtue or fortune did more contribute.

Alexander Duke of Albany before this disaster of Richard, at a Tilting with Lovys Duke of Orleance by the splint of a Spear in his head had received his death-wound 1483. He was a man of great courage, an enemy to rest and peace, delighting in constant changes and novations. He lest behind two Sons, John Duke of Albany begotten of his second marriage upon the Earl of Bulloignes Daughter, who was Tutor to King James the fifth and Governour of Scotland, and Alexander born of the Earl of Orkenays Daughter his first wife, Bish pos Murray, and Abbot of Skroon. Into which places he was intruded, to make the Government of his other Bro-

ther more peaceable.

Margarite the Queen about these times, a good and vertuous Lady, died 1486, and was buried at Cambu kennel the

29. of February.

The overthrow and death of Richard being known abroad, King Jimes, taking the advantage of the time, belieged the Ciftle of Lumbar. The garrison'd Souldiers finding no reliet nor affishance from their Countrey, and ascertained of the change of their Master, rendered up the Fort to the hands of the Scotis; it was of no great importance to the English, and only served to be a fair bridge of Treason for

scottish Rebels, and a Cittadel of Conspiracies.

Henry King of England after his victory and Coronation, fent Richard Fox Bishop of Excesser, and Sir Richard Edge-comb Embassadours to King Iames, for renewing the Truce, and if it were possible, to agree upon a stable and lasting Peace between the Realms. King Iames taking a promise of the secrecy of the Embassedours, that what he imparted to them, should not be laid open to his Nobility, told, Heearnesily affected a Peace with all his Neighbours, but above all others with their King, as much for his own valour, as for the honour

and interests of the two Kingdoms: But he knew his people so stubborn and opposite to all his designs, that if they understood his mind and resolutions, they would endeavour to cross his intentions; wherefore publickly he could only condescend to seven years truce, a long seace being hardly obtained from men brought up in the free licence of war, who distained to be restrained within the Narrow limits of Laws. Notwithstanding they should undertake for him to King Henry, in the word of a Prince. that this Truce before the exspiring of it should be renewed, and with all solemntyes again confirmed.

The Embassadours respecting his good will towards their King, accepted the conditions. Thus was there a Truce or Peace covenanted and confirmed for seven years to come be-

tween the two Realms.

Atter so many back-blows of fortune and such canvasting, the King enjoying a Peace with all his Neighbours abroad. became exceeding religious; the mileries of life drawing the mind to the contemplations of what shall be after it. During hisresidence at Edenburgh he was wont to come in Procession from the Abby of Holy-rood-house to the Churches in the High-Town every Wednesday and Fryday. By which devotion he became beloved of his People: Nothing more winning their hearts than the opinion they have of the Sandiey of a person. And that he did not this for the fashion nor hypocrify, the application of his wit and power to the administration of strict justice did prove; for he began to suppress the insolencies of strong oppressors, defend and maintain the Rights of the poor, against Tyrants and abufers of their Neighbors. He fitteth himself in Council dayly. and disposeth affairs of most weight in his own person.

In the Moneth of October following the Peace with England, 1487. a Parlament was called, in which many acts were made against Oppressours. Justices were appointed to pass thorough the whole Kingdom, and see malefactors deservedly punished. Acts were made that no convention of friends should be suffered for the accompanying and defence of criminal Persons: But that every one attainted should appear at the most with six Proctors; that, if found guilty, they should not be reft from Justice by strong hand. Such of the Nobility who feared and consequently hated him, finding how he had acquired the love of his people by his piety in the observance of Religion, and his severity in executing Justice, were driven unto new meditations. They began to suspect he would one day free himself from these turbulent Spirits who could not suffer him to enjoy a Peace, nor raign. He had advanced at this time to Offices of State and Places men whose Fortunes did wholly depend upon his

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falety and wel-fare: at which some Noblemen whose Ambition was to be in publick charge and of the Counsell, pretending to that out of right, which was only due unto them by favour, did highly storm and look upon those others with envious eyes. The King thus falling againe into his old sickness, they bethought them how to renew their old remedie. They were also jealous of the remembrance of the dis-service they had done him, and that he would never forget old quarrells; They were prepared and ready to make a Revolution of the state, but had not yet found their Center to begin motion, nor a ground for Rebellion. All this while there was not matter enought for an insurrection, nor

to dispose the Peoples Hearts to a Mutinie.

The King delighted with his Buildings of the Castle of sterlin, and the amenity of the Place, for he had raised there a faire and spacious Hall, and founded a College for divine service, which he named the Chappel Royal: and beginning to be possest and taken up with the Religion of these times, endeavoured to endow this foundation with constant Rents, and ample Revenues, and make this Rock the choyle Sanctuary of his Devotions. The Priory of coldingham, then vacant and fallen in his hands, he annexed the same to his Chappel Royal, and procured an Act of Parliament that none of the Lieges should attempt to doe contrary to this union and annexation, or to make any Impetration thereof at the Court of Rome under the paine of Treason. The Priors of this Convent having been many years of the Name of Hume, it was by the Gentlemen of that Name furmi'ld that they should be interested and wronged in their Estates, by reason of the Tithes and other Casualtyes appertaining to this Benefice, if a Prior of any other Sirname were promoted to this Place. The King being often petitioned and implored that he should not alter the accustom'd form of the Election of that Prior, nor remove it from their Name, nor luffer the Revenues to be otherways bestowed than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his resolution of annexing them to his Chapel: after long pawfing and deliberation amongst themselves, as men stirred up by the malecontents and a proud faction, fit for any the most dangerous entrprise, they proceed upon stronger Grounds to over-turn his intentions and divert his purpose. The Lord Hailles and others of the Sirname of Hepburn, had been their constant friends, Allies and Neighbours; with them they enter in a combination, that they should mutually stand to the defence of others, and not fuffer any Prior to be received for Coldingbamif he were not of one of their two Sirnames. This Covenantis first privately by some mean Gentlemen sworn,

who

who after draw on their Chiefs to be of the Party. Of how small beginnings doth a great mischief arile; the male contended Lords knowing those two Sirnames to be numerous, active and powerfull in those parts of the Gountrey where they remayn'd, lay hold upon this O verture, and beginning from their particulars they make the cause to be general. they spread Rumours abroad that the King was become terrible and not to be trufted; not with standing all his Protestations and outward demeanour, that he yet meditated Revenge, and had begun to invadea nd shake the ancient privileges of the Humes, more out of Spight and discontent against them for having affished and follow'd the Lords of the Reformation of the State, than any intention of the increafing the Rents of his new erected Chappel. That ere long he would be avengedupon all whom he either knewwere acceflary or suspected to have been upon the Plot of Lander Bridg, or his committing in the Castle of Edenbrough. That it wasfome time better to commit a fault unpardonable than venture under the Pardon. That the King had taken a Resolution to live upon the Peoples contributions, and give his owne Revenues to particular Men. The faults of his Counsellours are highly exaggerated. They were base Perfons, and he himself given to diffimulation, misdevotion and revenges as occasion served he would remember old wrongs: It was good to obey a King but notito lay the head upon a Block to him, if a Man could fave himfelf.

After along smother of discontent and hatred of the Nobility and People, rankor breaking dayly forth into Seditions and alterations, The Lord Hume and Hayles being the Ring-Leaders, many Noblemen and Gentlemen under fained pretences, especially the courses of swift Horses, keep frequent meetings. Where they renew their Covenant agreed upon at Lawder Church, the necessity of the times and the danger of the Common-wealth requiring it, and gave their oaths that at what time soever the King should chalenge them directly or indirectly, or wrong them in their Rights, Possessimons, Places, Persons, They should abide together as if they were all one Body, marry each others quarrells, and the wrongs done to any one of them should be done

to themall.

When the King understood the confederacy of the Lords, to anticipate the Danger, he made choyse of a Guard for the preservation of his Person and Servants, Of which he made John Ramsay of Balmayne, a Man whom he had preserved at Lander and advanced to be Maister of his houshold at Court, Captain: giving him a warrant not to suffer any Man in Arms approach the Court by some miles. This in stead of

cooling

firr'd them to affemble with numerous Retinues all in Arms. The King scarce believing the Mindes of so many were corrupted, and perswading himself the Authority of the publick name of a King would supply the want of some Power, summond certain of them upon fourty days to an-

fwer according to Law.

Of those some rent his Summons, and beat shamefully his Heraulds and Messengers for discharging their Offices: O. thers appeared, but with numbers of their Adherents, Friends, Allies and Vaffals: And here he found that the faults of great Delinquents are not without great danger taken notice of. and reprehended; he used some Stratagems to surprise the Heads and chiefs of their faction: But unadvisedly giving trust to the promises of those who lent their ears, but not their hearts to his words, his designs were discovered before they produced any effect; his secrets all laid open to his great hatred and disadvantage, the discoverers taking themselves to the factions Rebells, and cherishing unkind thoughts in all whom they faw distasted with his Government; Perceiv. ing himself betrayed and his intentions divulged, he remained in great doubt to whom he should give credit. The nature and manner of all things changed by the League of the Confederates, he thought it high time to remove a little further from that Torrent which might have overwhelmed him, and made them Masters of his person. To temporize and win time, caused furnish the Castles of Edenburgh and sterling with provision of Victual, Ammunicion, and Garri. fons to defend them from the dangers of war; he resolved to make his aboad beyond the River of Forth, and to leave the touth Parts of the Kingdom. After which deliberation he cutred a Ship of Sir Andrew Wood (a famous Navigator and flout Commander at Sea) which pretended to make fail for the low Countreys, and was lying at Anchor in the Forth. These who saw him aboard, spread a rumour that he was flying to Flanders. The Lords of the infurrection making use of this falle report feiled on his carriage in the Passages to. wards the North, rifled his Coffers, spoiled his Servants of their stuff and baggage. And then after certainty that he was but landed in Fyfe, and from that was in progress to the Northern parts, preparing and directing his good Subjects to be in readiness to attend him at his return, they surprised the Castle of Dumbar. The Moneys found in his Coffers wage Souldiers against him, and the Harness and Weapons of his Magazines arm them. Having gathered some companies together, tumultuously they overrun the Countreys opon the South of the Forth, riffling and plundering all men

who went not with them, or whom they suspected not to favour their desperate and seditious ends. In his progress the King held Jultice Courts at Aberdeen and Inneres, where William Lord Creighton, not long before impeacht with the Duke of Albany, submitted himself to his Clemency, and was received in favour and pardoned: after which grace he shortly left this world. Whilst the King in the North, the Lords in the South are making their preparations; When they were affembled at Lithgow they find themselves many in number and strong in powers the success of their proceedings being above their hopes: there only wanted a Man eminent. ly in esteem with the people, and noble of Birth, to give lustreto their Actions, shadow their Rebellion, and be the titular and painted head of their Arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great Man, they affented all that there was none to be paralleld to the Prince of Rothfay the Kings own Son. So strongly providence befools all human wisdom and forefight; his keepers being corrupted by gifts, pensions and promises of divers Rewards, he is delivered into their hands: and by threats, that they would otherwaies give up the Kingdom to the King of England, he is constrained to go To heighten the hatred against the King, and with them. the closlier to deceive the people (for the love of subjects is fuch towards their natural Kings, that except they be first deceived by some pretence and notable sophism, they will not arise altogether in arms and rebel) they make proclamations and by their Deputies by way of Remonstrances spread abroad seditious Papers, in what a Sea of blood would these men launch into? that all true Subjects should come in defence of the Prince, and take arms; because his Fathers jealousies and superstitious fears were rilen to that height that nothing but his Sons death or imprisonment could temperatethem. That he was raising an Army to take his Son out of their hands, that he might do with him as he had done with his own Brothers. That force was the onely means to work his lafety and keep the Plotters of this milchief within bounds, they also should take arms to reduce the Govern; ment to a betterform, for that the Kingdom was oppressed with insupportable grievances: the King being altogether given to follow the advice, projects and counsels of base men; to amals and gather great fums of money from his people, upon which he studied to maintain his Court and State, and give away his own.

When the Engin was prepared for the people, and spread abroad, they sent to the Earl of Dowglass, then closely as a Monck shut up in the Abby of Lyndores, to come out, be of the Party, and affish them with his Counsel and Friends pro-

mising if their attempt had happy Success, to restore him again to his ancient possessions and Heritage, former dignitys and the Places of honour of his Ancestors. The Earl, whom time and long experience had made wary and circumspect, having a suspition the Earl of Angus, who possessed the greatest part of his estate, had been the chief motioner of this liberty, and that rather to try what he would do, then that he minded really to set him free, refused to come out of his Cloister. And by his letters disswaded them from their bold enterprize against their Prince; wishing they would set his house and himself for a pattern & precedent of Rebellion. He sent to all such of his Friends whom his disasters had left unruined, to take arms for the King, as the Dowglasser of Kayvers and others.

The Kingneither losing courage nor councel for the greatnels of the danger of the Rebellion, trusting much to his good fortune, with such forces as came with him from the North, in Captain Woods Ships and other Boats and Vessels prepared to that end, passeth the Forth near the Blackness, an old Fortress and Sea port in West Lothian, not far from the Castle of Abercorn, and that place where the Forces of the Earl of Dowglass left him, and the King his Father obtained so harmless a victory. Before the arrival of the King at this Place, the Earls of Montrofs, Glencarn, Lords Maxwell and Ruthven with others, advertised by Letters of the Rendeyouz, had come to the Place, had encamped, and were at. tending him. And he mustered a sufficient Army to rencounter the Lords of the affociation, who from all quarters were affembled, having with them the Prince to add Authority to their quarrel. The two Armies being in readiness to decide their indifferences by a Battail, the Earl of Athole the Kings Uncle so travailed between the Lords of either party and the King, that a suspention of Armes was agreed upon and reconcilement: and the Earl of Athole rendered himfelf a pledge for the accomplishing of the Kings part of the reconcilement, to the Lord Haylles, and was fent to be kept in the Castle of Dumbar.

This was not a small fault of this Prince: the Confederates forces were not at this time equall to his, neither had they essayed to hinder the landing of his Army, being but in gathering; the Castle of Blackness was for his desence, and his Ships traversing up and down the Forth, in case of necessity for succour. That if he had hazarded a battail, he had been neer to have recovered all that reputation he had before lost. Now upon either side some common Souldiers are disbanded, some Gentlemen licensed to return to their own dwelling places. The King in a peaceable manner re-

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tireth to the Castle of Edenburgh. The Earl of Athole was now removed from him, and many of the other Lords who loved him returned to their houses; the Counsel of man not being able to relift the determinations of God. The Lords fulpecting still the King to be implacable in their behalf and unaccessible in his Castle, keeping the Prince alwaies with them, entring upon new meditations hold fundry meetings how to have his person in their power, and make him a prey to their ambitious defigns. The Town of Edinburgh is pestered with troups of armed men, the Villages about replenished with Soldiours. The King warned of his danger, fortifies of new the Caltle of Edenburgh for his defence, and is brought to such a tameness, that resolving to do that with love of every man which he feared in end he should be con. strained unto with the universal hatred of all, and his own damage and danger, out of a passive fortitude sent Commisfioners, indifferent Noblemen, to the Lords and his Son to understand their intentions and what they meant. Why his Son was kept from him, and continued the head of their faction. Why his Uncle was so closely imprison'd, and himfelf as it were blocked up by their tumultuous meetings in Arms? He was content they should have an abolition of all that was past, that their punishments should not be infinitely extended, and that they should think upon a general agreement after the best and fittest manner they They finding their offences could devise, and set it down. flew higher than hope of pardon could ascend unto. Their suspitions, and the conscience of their crime committed, breeding such a distrust out of an apprehension of fear, answered that they found no true meaning. Open war was to be preferred to a peace full of deceit, danger and fears, that being affured he would weave out his begun projects against them, they could not think of any fafety, nor have affurance of their lives nor fortunes, unless he freely refigned the title of his Crown and Realm in favour of his Son, and voluntarily deposed himself, leaving the Government of the People and Kingdome to the Lords of his Parliament. divesting himself wholly of his Royall dignity. would they come to any submission or capitulation, until he consented to this main point and granted it submissive-

King James notwithstanding of this answer, after a cleer prospect of the inconveniences and mischiefs which were growing, and the many injuries, indignities, and affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a peace. sought unto Henry King of England, as also to the Pope and King of France to

make

make an attonment between him and his Subjects. Kings accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner, not only by way of request and perswafion; but also by way of protestation and menace, declaring that they thought it to be the common cause of all Kings, it Subjects should be suffered to give Lawes unto their Soveraign; a legitimate King, though a Tyrant, was not subordinate to the Authority of Subjects. James was not a Tyrant; his errours proceeding most part from youth and evil Counfel. That suppose the Kinghad done them wrong, it was not wisely done, for a desire of revenge, to endanger their perticular Estates, and the peace and standing of the whole What State was there ever fo pure, but some Kingdome. corruption might creep into its That they should be very cautious how they shook the frame of Monarchical Government too far; That they would accordingly refent and revenge it. Rage prevailing against Reason and fears, the Lords made that same answer to these Embassadours which they had fent to the King himself before. As for the Popes Embally which was fent by Adrian de Castello, an Italian Legate was comming, and the Lords fearing the danger of it, for in those times it might have drawn the most part of all the Towns, and the Commons, for fear of Ecclefiastical Cenfures, to have adhered to the King, or stood in an indiffe. rency, made all possible haste before it should have been delivered, to make head against their Soveraign, and decide their quarrel in a battel; Orban the fourth armed Henry the third King of England against all those that would not return to their due and old obedience to him, and all his difloyal subjects.

The King was in a strong Fort, and if he had remained still there, matters in a little time had faln forth more to his wishes; and his Enemies might have been brought to a submission: for his good Subjects of the North, as the Forbesses, Oguilbuyes, the Graunts, Frazeres, Meldrums, many of the Gordonnes, Keethes, and others who adhered to him out of affection and duty, were advancing towards him. But whether misinformed or betrayed by some of his own, who made him believe that unless he could command the Countrey about Edenburgh, the Castle was of no such importance as was the Castle of Sterlin for him, in consideration of the passage over the River of Forth at a Bridge for those were coming to his aid: The Lords of the affociation counterfeiting a Retreit and dispersing themselves in the Countrey, that they might draw him from that hold, he rashly and unadvisedly issued out of the Castle and left his beloved Town of Eden-The Earls of Montross, Glencarn, Lords Maxwell

and Ruthen accompanyed him to the Blackness; his Forces here encreasing he marched towards sterlin, the Rendevous and destinated Place of meeting for all his loyal Subjects, there he displayed his Royal Standard. Here the perfidious Constable (an unparralleld example of ingratitude) who had betrayed the Son, in an hostile manner kept the Father out of his own Castle, Canons mounted, Pistols cockt, and leveld at him, and exposed him a prey to his Rebels, In the amazement and deliberation what to go about, being thus thut out of his Castle, Tidings came to him, that the Confederates were come neer to Falkirk, a little Town fix miles eastward from Sterlin, that his Army should not be discouraged by this unexspected accident, trusting to his right and present Power; being more stout than prudent, he resolv eth to fet all upon the hazard of a Battel. The Confederates had passed the Carron, a River under the Falkirk, and were encamped above the Bridge neer the Torwood: The King fet forwards with his Army upon the other fide of the Torwood. neer a smal brook named Saweby-Burn. This field is a plain not far distant from that Bannoch-burn, where King Robert the Bruce overthrew the great Army of Edward Carnarvan. Here both Armies advance forward in Battail array.

The Lords rang'd their Host in three Squadrons; the vant. guard was led by the Lords Hume and Hailles and their friends confifting of east Lothian and Marss-men; The middle ward was composed of the Liddesdale, Annandale, Emesdale, Tivotdale, Twededale, Galloway-Men: the mayne battail was of west Lothian-men, where most of the Lords were, and amongst whom the Prince was kept. In the Kings Army the Earle of Monteeth, Lords Are (ken, Graham, Ruthen, Maxwell commanded the vanguard. The left wing which confifted of Westland and Highland men, was committed to the Earle of Glencarn. The Lords Boyd, Lyndesay, the Earl of Crawfoord commanded in the Reer or great Battaill, amongst whom was the King armd from head to foot upon a great Courfier, case to be known and discern'd from the rest. The first charge is valiantly given and Launce meeting with Launce, the vanguard of the Lords began to yield ground, and was strongly repulsed. But the next charge being given by Annandale Men and the ranck Riders of the Borders, The middle ward of the Kings Army is beaten back to the mayn Battaill; Notwithstanding of which it is fought a while with marvellous obstination and great hardiness and assurance, untill the standard Royal was beaten downe, and those who detended it were slain, the violence of the bickering being mostly where it was planted. The Kings army now beginning to bow, nor being

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fufficient to relift the numbers of fresh affailers, the Horsemen obeying no direction, turned their backs. In this rowt and confusion of horse and foot men, the King seeking to retire towards the River of Forth, where not far off som Boats and the Ships of Sir Andrew Wood attended the fortune of Battail, by the fall of his Horse, in leaping a Ditch, being fore bruised, was carryed by such who knew him not, to a Mill at Bannoch Burn. The day was now the Confederates and wrong had prevailed against Right, when the Prince of Roth (ay amazed at the noise and clamours of the flying and following Souldiers, and in suspition of the worst, gave out express and strait Commandement with threatnings to the Disobevers, that none should presume to pursue his Father. nor others in the chase. Notwithstanding which, he was followed and killed in a Mill in cold bloud. These who followed him were the Lord Gray, Robert Sterlin of Keer, Sir Andrew Forthick a Priest, whom fame reporteth after shiriving

to have stobb'd him with a Dagger.

The Enfigns taken, the Army diffipated and put toffight, the Baggage rifled, the Death of the King being rumoured through the Armies, the Victors turned flow in the chase. and gave field-room to all that would fly, no severity being used against any found unarmd; for the Lords of the association pursu'd the King not the people. The discomfitted fled towards Sterlin; the victorious retir'd to their Camp, and the next morning to Linlithgow. On the Kings side Alexander Cunningham Earl of Glencarn was flain, and as some have recorded, the Lords Aerskin, Simple, Ruthen, John Ramfay of Bala mayn created Earl of Bothwell, and his chief favourite, with their friends and Vassals: the Lard of Inneys, Alexander Scot Director of the Chancery, with some Noblemens Friends and Vaffals: many were hurt who recovered of their wounds. and this Battail feem'd rather a brave encounter and meeting of Launces in some lists, than a Field of great deeds of arms, and the victory was obtained rather by disorder, and the rashness of the vanquished than by the valour of the victorious. This battel was fought the year 1488 the eleventh day of June, which is the festival of St. Barnabas, the 29. year of the Reign, and thirty five of the age of this King. He had issue James the fourth who succeeded, Alexander Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, and John Earl of Marr: The Conspirators with all funeral Rites and and Royal Pomp, as in expiation of the wrongs they had done him living, neer his Queen in the Abby Church of Cambuskynneth, buryed his body.

This King concerning his personage was of a Stature somwhat higher than ordinary, well proportioned, his hair was

black,

black, his vilage was rather long than round, approaching in colour more to those in the Southern than Northern Climates. Concerning his conditions, He was a Prince of an haughty and towring Spirit, loved to govern alone, affect. ing an absolute Power and Royal Prerogative over his people. He knew that Noble-men were of his Predecessors making, as the coyn, and why he might not put his stamp upon the same mettal, or when these old Medails were defaced, that he might not refound them and give them a new print, he thought no sufficient reason could be given. reign seemeth a Theater spred over with mourning and staind with bloud, where in a revolution many Tragedies were acted. Neither were the neighbour Kingdoms about in a calmer estate during his reign. France under Lowys the eleventh, England under Henry the fixth, Edward the fourth, and Richard the Ulfurper, Flanders and Holland under Charles the War-like; Arnold Duke of Guilders was imprisoned by his own Son. As if the heavenly Influences were fometimes all together fet to produce upon this Ball of the Earth nothing but conspiracies, treasons, troubles, and for the wickedness of the Inhabitants to deprive them of all rest, and contentment.

This King is by the most condemned, as a rash, imprudent dangerous Prince: good People make good Kings; when a people run directly to oppose the authority of their Soveraign, and assume Rebellion and arrogancy for obedience, resisting his fairest motions and most profitable commandments, if a King be martial, in a short time they are beaten and brought under. If he be politick, prudent and foreseeing in a longer time (as wild Dear) they are surprized, and either brought back to their first order and condition, or thrall'd to greater miseries. If he be weak and suffer in his Reputation or State or person by them, the Prince who succeedeth is ordinarily the Revenger of his wrongs. And all conspiracies of Subjects if they prosper not in a high degree, advance the Soveraignty: This Prince feemeth not to have been naturally evil inclined, but to have been constrained to leave his natural inclination and necessitate to run upon Precipices and dangers: his turbulent Subjects never suffering him to have rest. Many Princes who in the beginning of their reigns have bin admired for their fair actions, by the ingratitude of their Subjects, have turn'd from one extremity to another, and become their rebellious Subjects executioners. He was provoked to do many things by the infolency of private men: and what some call tyranny and sierceness in a Prince, is but just feverity. He fought to be feared, believing it to be the onely way to obedience. It is true, injuries took fuch deep impres-

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fion in his mind, that no after service could blot them away. The taking away of his Favourites, made him study revenge, which if he had not done, he had to much of the stoical virtues, little of the Heroical.

These who blame Princes, under a pure and absolute Monarchie for having favourites, would have them inhumane, base and contemptible, and would deprive them of power to confer favours according to the distinguishing power of their understanding and conceptions. The choise a Prince maketh of men whom he advanceth to great imployments, is not subject to any mans censure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be pass'd over, if not approv'd; least the discretion and judgement of the Prince be questioned, and his Reputation wounded: Favourites are shrines to shadow Princes from their People. Why should a people not allow a Prince some to whom he may unmask himself, and discover the secrets of his Heart? If his fecrets should be imparted to many, they would be no longer Secrets? Why should it be imposed on a Prince to love all his Subjects alike, since he is not beloved of them all alike? This is a defire to tyrannize o. ver the affections of Princes, whom men should reverence.

He feemeth too much to have delighted in retiredness, and to have been a hater of business; nor that he troubled himself with any but for formalities sake, more desirous of quietnes than honour. This was the fault of the Governours of his youth, who put him off business of State, that they might the more easily reach their own ends, and by making him their shadow, govern after their pleasure; Of this delight in solitariness his Brothers took their advantage and wan the

people to their observance.

He was much given to Buildings and trimming up of Chappels, Halls, and Gardens, as usually are the Lovers of Idleness: and the rarest frames of Churches and Pallaces in scotland were mostly raised about his time. An humour which though it be allowable in men which have not much to do, yet is harmfull in Princes; As to be taken with admiration of Watches, Clocks, Dyals, Automates, Pictures, Statues. For the the art of Princes is to give Laws and govern their people with wisdom in peace, and glory in war; to spare the humble and prostrate the proud.

He is blam'd of Avarice, yet there is no great matters recorded of it, fave the encroaching upon the dealing, and taking the giving to whom he pleased of Church Benefices; which if he had liv'd in our times, would have been held a virtue. He was of a credulous Disposition, and therefore easie to be abused; which hath moved some to record He was given to Divination and to inquire of suture accidents: which if it be credible was the fault of those times. Edward the fourth of England is faid to have had that fame fault, & that by the mifinterpretation of a prophecy of a Necromancer, which foretold that one, the first Letter of whose name was G. should uturp the Kingdom, and disposses the children of King Edward, he took away his Brother George Duke of Clarence; which being really practifed in England, some Scottifb writers (that aking of scotland should not be inferior, to any of his Neighbor Princes in wickednes) without grounds have recored the same to have bin don by this King, his lovewas great to learned men, he uled as Counsellors in his important affairs John Ireland a Doctour of Divinity, and one of the Sorbon in Paris, made Arch-deacon of St. Andrews, Mr. Robert Blackadore, whom he promoted to be Bishop of Glasgow, Mr. William Elphinstoun, whom of an Official or Commissary of Lothian, he surrogated in the place of Mr. Robert Blackadore, and made Bishop of Aberdeen; and his faults either in Religion or Policy may be attributed to these and his other Counsellours.

Many have thought that the fatal Chariot of his Precipice was, that he had equally offended kindred, Clergy, Nobility and People. But suppose this had been true, why should fuch an horrible mischief have bin devised, as to arm his own Son against him? and that neither the fear of Divine justice, the respect of infamy with the present or after times, the danger of the example, had power to divert the minds of men from such a cruel Design! This was really to seeth the Kid in the Mothers milk, and to make an innocent youth obnoxious to the most hainous crime that could be committed. What ever courtains could be spred to overshadow and cover this mischief, the horrour of this fact possest this Prince to his last hour, and God out of his Justice executed the revenge of this cruelty upon the Nobles, Commons, and the Prince himself at the field of Flowden: where some of the chief Actors of this paricide were in their own persons, others in the persons of their Successors, sacrificed to the Ghost of this King.



Ismes m kmg of Scotts



## HISTORY

OF THE

## LIFE & REIGN

Iames the fourth,

King of Scotland.



he Lords who had chosen rather to be reputed famous Rebells than contemn'd Subjects, by their boldness of enterprizing, skill of managing the publick affairs, and continued purchases, swelling to that greatness of power, that they found none to counterposse, see to oppose to their Designs; To make their Rebellion lawful, and show the world they intended not

the subversion of their Countrey, but of their opinionative King, nor that they did dislike Soveraignity, so they might have a Prince who would be ruled by their directions, take the name, and leave to them the Majesty and Authority of his Place: after the killing of the Father, call a Parliament for the installing of the Son in the Royall Throne; few of the three Estates here meeting, except themselves, and the Commissioners of Burroughs, in the Moneth of June the year 1488. at Edenburgh the Prince is crowned, then having not attained the fixteenth year of his age. Though these men had assumed the Government, yet in divers parts of the Coun. trey they had bur doubtful obedience, nor was their Autho. rity univerfally acknowledged, the flames of diffention feeming yet neither to be extinquished, nor altogether smothered with the life of the late King. On the Sea Sir Andrew Wood, who had attended the event of the last Battel, maintained resolutely the Quarrel of his dead Master. Five tall Ships fent by the King of England to his Confederates aid (but which came too late) pretending a Revenge upon his distoyal Subjects, pillaged the maritime Towns, and forraged the adjacent parts of the Countrey, thut up the mouth of the River of Forth, and interrupted the Commerce of Merchants. To repel which violence, the Ships gathered by the Lords struggled in vain, being every way inferiour and weak to supprels their incursions and Algarads. On the land the Forces of those who had stood out for the late King had rather been by the last conflict scatter'd, than throughly broken and brought under. The ablest and most convenient companies which were gatherd to his affistance, having never affembled and joind in one body, the fight being inconfideratly precipitated and the Dye thrown, before they could descend from the far Mountains, and cross the Foord-less Rivers; And of those who were in the Fray not many being taken prisoners, fewer killed, falling under the weight offriend-

The prime Men of those who had chosen rather justly to follow the King, than profitably his Rebells, finding themfelves, for their loyaltie, and that good will which they had carryed to their Soveraign, persecuted and proscrib'd in their Fortunes and Persons, inflamed with indignation and shame resolve to oppose wisdom to Fortune, courage to strength, and hazard some one day more for the repairing the losses of former: the Pillage begun upon the Seas by the English ani mating them. And being desirous to make as many fellows of their danger as they could, they fend Letters thorough all the Quarters of the Kingdom to their Friends, Familiars and Confederates, encouraging them to ply the business generoully, opposing their valour and courage to the strength and power of the abusers of the Prince. By publick writings they cast aspersions on the present Government. After that battail of Sterlin, and fince the Coronation of the King they had not fallen in the power of a Monarch, but under an o-

ligarchy

lygarchy, the most depraved form of all Governments, the name and Title of a King a young man scarce sixteen years of age enjoyed, but he governed not, but was by the Killers of his Father misgoverned, who under false pretences intended the ruin of the State. What reproach and shame would it be not onely with all men now living but also with Posterity to suffer these who had hazarded what they had dearest for the bonour and pre-Servation of their Prince, to be branded with the name of Tragtors, be banished and followed to death. Whilst the Transgressors and Abusers of all Laws, divine and humane, sit Judges over them, as Revengers of general wrongs, usurping the Titles of Deliverers of the Countrey, and Restaurers of the Common-wealth, amongst whose pawes the present King could not be assured and safe. being the men who to justifie their injustice, and make their fact meritorious, brought him in Arms, not knowing whither, against his King and Father, most wofully taken away : besides the abusing of his Name and Authority in every civil matter. The late King had lost the day and himself by his own errours, not by their power and designs. Now they should oppose to their proceedings, & though they might be esteemed inferiour in number to them, yet (if they met together) they might be found equal to them in worth and courage, being puft up by the last mistortune, and only put. ting their confidence in that they mastered their Designs.

Much being projected and designed for their meeting in arms, in the North Alexander Lord Forbess, a Man born neither to rest himself, nor suffer others, in Aberdeen, and other Towns on the point of a Launce displayed the shirt of the slaughtered King purpled with his bloud, inviting the Countrey as by an Herauld to the revenge of his Murther. In the West the Earl of Lennox, a man eminent by his Birth and Fortunes hath the same resolution; the Earl of Marshall, Lords Gordon and Lyle, with their consederates in other parts of the Kingdom, where their power or eloquence could prevail, move all their Engins to advance the enterprize, and put

every thing in readinels.

The Lords of the insurrection having the young King in their hands to countenance their proceedings, joining discretion to their good success, determine except upon necessity not to spill more civil blood. And to disperse the clouds of that appearing storm, they encourage Sir Andrew Wood, now received in savour and brought not onely to be no enemy, but to be their friend and fellow-helper (having obtained from them the Barony of Largow, disposed to him hereditarily of which before he had only a lease of the late King for his first service) with his Ships to clear the Forth, and scoure the Seas of the English. And they launch out to his affishance the Vessels and Boats of the Havens neer adja-

cent. At that same time John Lord Drummond Stuart of Stra. thern, a Nobleman, couragious and adventurous, is directed to wait upon the Earl of Lennox, stopt his ravaging and wasting the Countrey, and kept him back from joining wirh his Cenfederates of the North, and infesting the more civil parts: being the greatest, ablest and nearest Man of that Faction. The Earl had raised many high-land and West land men, recorded to be two thousand; but when he could not pass the River of Forth at the bridge of Sterlin, the Lords having invested the Town, he assayeth to pass amongst the Fens and Marishes at a Foord not far from the head of the River, where other his Confederates had appointed to meet him. Whilst he is encamped at Tilly-moss, far from all appearance or suspition of danger, the Lord Drummond by the advertise. ment of Alexander Mackealp (who had taken Arms with the Earl only to find out his wates ) in the Night invadeth his Camp, the sentinels and these of the formost Guard seised upon, or killed, or driven back, they in the neerest Cabines amazed with the suddain mischief, rise to arm themselves and think of fight, but finding the danger to be on all fides and thorough the whole Camp, neither seeing before them nor hearing any Directions given them for the great noise of the Invaders, it being impossible to put themselves in array, confusedly each overthrowing other take themselves to hopelessaud disordered flight. Sleep here to some is continued in death, many disburthening themselvs of their arms, feek fanctuary amongst the winding pathes of these Marshes. Others are taken, but by their acquaintance and friends fuffered after to escape. Revenge is only followed against such who in malice had enterprized any thing against the present Government, and persevered in their attempts.

This defeit of the Earl of Lennox by the Lord Drummond, is seconded with the rumour of a Sea victory obtained by Sir Andrew Wood against Steven Bull, a man excelling in maritime affairs, who had come upon the Scottish seas to revenge the Quarrel of his Masters Ships not long before taken and spoyled by Sir Andrew. They had met neer the Island of the May at the mouth of the River of Forth, and arranging themselves for fight had been two daies by the waves and winds carryed along the coast of Fife, driven at last amongst the Mounts of Sand wherethe Tay loofeth his name in the Sea, the English ships taler, and of a greater burthen than the Scottish by ignorance or negligence of their Mariners embanqued, and stuck moor'd upon the Shelves: and being forc't by necessity to render were brought as Prizes to Dundee: The rumour of these Victories spread abroad, so amaz'd the Companies raised in the North by the Lord Forbess, and

other

other his Confederates, that they, changing their opinions with the event of actions, gave over further profecution or defire of war, and every Man retired to his own home. Atter which by indifferent friends having fought a reconciliation (it being more expedient to take them in by Policy than by force) they were easily received in tayour: amongst which was the Earl of Lennox and the Lord Forbess.

The Governours to ingratiate themselves more with the people, by calming the present troubles, and uniting the divided members of the Common-wealth; that every man might have a publick assurance for the freedom of his Person and private estate and fortunes, call a Parlament, and it is held at Edinburgh in February, having the Law in their own hands, that the insurrection might be thought just; here was it adjudged that those who were slain in the field of Sterlin had fallen by their own deservings, and justly suffered the punishment of their rashness: that the Victors were innocently guiltless of the blood there shed, and fairly acquitted of any pursuit: The three estates testifying the same by their subscriptions and Signets.

It was Ordained, That they who came against the present King in aid of his Father, should take remissions or pardons: and so many of them as were in hereditary Offices, as Wardens, Justices, Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillyes, Lieutenants, or in other publick Charges, should be suspended from them for the space of three years, that such who had offices for term of life, or for terms, should be

dispossessed and denuded of them altogether.

All which, though done under a colour of Punishment, was only to invest Places, and to turn some of themselves rich by their spoils. The punishment of mean men challenged of these garboyle is either made little or passed over. All Donations howfoever made by Patent from the King or by Parliaments in prejudice of the Crown, beginning from the moneth of September before, till the day of his decease are repelled and annihiled. All honours bestowed on such the late King fought to obliege unto him were recalled. Earl of Crawford was divested of his title of being Duke of Montross, as the L. of Balmayn was of his, of being, Earl of Bothwell. Embassadours are directed to the Emperour, Pope, Kings of France and Denmark, and other Princes, to renue the Leagues, antient Confederacies and Allyances, as in times past had been the custome of the Kings of Scotland to their neighbour Princes, but especially to take away the blame of their Kings flaughter from the Governours: and manifest to all the world the candor of their minds, and juttice of their proceedings. For that some few English Ships had shut up the narrow Seas of Scotland, and interrupted the commerce of Merchants, pillaging the Coasts, Order was established for building of many Ships, and that every Seaport should be stored with them, as well to maintain traffick abroad with Strangers, as for fishing, and to be walls to the Countrey at home. In a matter so important, and near concerning the weal and standing of the State, the Barons were ordained to share and bear a part with the Merchants and Burroughs. And in so fair a project, to encourage his people, the King himself was content first to begin, and to build thips for his own and the publick service of the Kingdom. This being one of the greatest miseries of the late King that he suffered himself to be misgoverned by (as they term'd them) worthless men, some Prelates and Noble-men eniment in learning and virtue are selected who should still be resident with the King, and of his Council without the advice confent and decree of fix of which if any matters of importance were proceeded on and concluded, they should be void and null: Governours are appointed to bring up his Brothers.

Now is every thing ordered to the best, Justice is executed on oppressours and Robbers, and in the remotest parts of the Kingdom, the King himself in person seeth it administred. He is of so contrary a temper to the humour of his Predecessors that he granted freely to every man what could be demanded in reason. To give a testimony to the world of the Agonie of his mind, for the Death of his Father, and what remorfe and anguish he suffered for the faults of those who brought him to the Field against him, he girded himself with a chayn of Iron, to which every third year of his life thereafter he added some rings and weight. Though this might have proved terrible to the Complices of the Crime, yet either out of conscience of his gentle disposition and mild nature, and confidence in his generofity, or of the trult they had in their own power and Faction, they bewrayed no figns of fear, nor attempted ought against the common peace and tranquility, some records bear that they forewarned him by the example of his Father not to take any violent course against them, or which might irritate the people against him and every thing to embrace their counsels: and that finding him replaing and stubborn, beyond mediocrity giving himself over to Sorrow and pensiveness, they theatned him with a Coronation of one of his Brothers, telling him it was in their power to make any of the race of his Preseceffors their King: if he were Head-strong and refractory to oppose to their wholsom directions, and grave Counfels.

Amidst this Grief of the King and overweening of his superculious Governours Andrew Forman Secretary to Alexan-

## Of JAMES the fourth.

der the fixth Bishop of Rome arrived in Scotland with instructions for the Clergy, and Letters from his Master to the King and the Nobles.

The Kings were full of ordinary consolations to asswage his passions, and reduce his mind to a more calm temper for the accident of his Fathers death.

The most glorious victory a Prince could acquire, was sometimes to overcome himself, and triumph over his disordered passions. In all perturbations, to which we are subject, we should endeavour to practise that precept. No thing too much, but chiefly in our passions of sorrow and wrath: which not being restrained overwhelm the greatest and most generous Minds, that by passion the

temest actions, and by reason the most do prosper.

Though a King he must not imagine himself exempt from things casual to all mankind, especially in Seditions and civil tumults: from which no kingdom nor State hath been free. There being no City which hath not sometimes wicked Citezens, and alwaies and ever an headstrong and mad multitude; he should take what had befaln him from the hand of his Maker, who chastiseth those he loveth. What comes from heaven he should hear necessarily, what proceedeth from Men couragiously; there was no man so safe, excellent and transcendent, who by an insolent Nobility and ravaging Populacy might not be compelled to perpetrate many things against his heart and intentions.

The will being both the beginning and subject of all sin, and the consenting to and allowing the action being the only and main point to be considered and lookt into, of which he was free, the sin committed was not his, nor could the punishment which by the divine

Justice might follow belong unto him.

Sith he had done nothing of himself, but as a bound man had been carryed away by mutinous Subjects: these that lead transgress, not alwaies they that follow. To these men remorse and torture of conscience belong'd, it was they should lament and mourn who under false pretences had abused the people, maskt their Ambition and malice with a reformation of errours in the State, whose rage could not be quencht but by the bloud of ther Soveraign. It was thefe should bewail their injustice and cruelty, the sin, shame and judgement, for so hainous a fact followed these men; He should not impute the wrongs and wickedness of others, by which be had been a sufferer with his disastered Father, to himself. venge belonged to the Almighty, to whose Tribunal he should submit his quarrel. He should not decree the worst against his mutinous Subjects, nor turn them desperate, as if there were no place to repent. Great offences, ordinarily were seldom punisht in a State, that it was profitable for a Prince sometime to put up voluntarily an injury, the way to be invincible was never to contend, and to stand out of danger was the benefit of peace, that he should apply soft

Medicine where it was dangerous to use violent; That following

his Maker he fould endeavour to draw Good out of evil.

As he was for that disaster of his Father pittyed by Men upon Earth, so assuredly he would be pardoned in Heaven. If his Subjects returned to their crooked By as and did revolt again, he would make the danger his own, use his Ecclesistical consures and spiritual power against them till they became obedient, and submitted themselves to the sway of his Scepter.

In the Letters to the Nobles he exhorted them to obedi-

ence.

Ambition was the cause of Sedition, which had no limits, and which was the bane and wrack of States & Kingdoms of which they should beware of; Kingdoms subsisting upon the reputation of a Prince, and that respect his Subjects carryed towards him. He was the Eye and Sun of Justice; the Prince weakned or taken away, or his authority contemned; the Common-wealth would not only fall into a Decadence, but suffer an Earth quake and perish. Either after by Forrainers be invaded, or by intestine disentions rent as sunder. Confusions followed where obedience ceased and left: Contempt deposed Kings as well as death, and Kings are no longer Kings when their Subjects resuse to obey them.

That good people made good Kings, which he requested them to endeavour to be, as they would answer to God whose Lientenants

Princes were, and by whose power they ruled.

After, this time the Lord Evaindale being dead, the Earl of Angus, was made Chancelour, and the Lord Hume, obtained the place of great Chamberlain of Scotland, the Countrey enjoyed a great calm of peace, the grounds of differtion

feeming to be taken away.

The King in the strength and vigour of his Youth, remembring that to live in Idleness was to live to be contemned by the world, by change of Objects to expell his present sadness and to enable himself for wars when they should but st forth, gave himself to recreations by Games, and with a decent Pomp entertained all Knightly exercises keeping an open and magnificent Court. When time and Exercise had enabled him, and he thought he had attained to some perfection in marital Sports, Tilting and Barriers proclaimed; Rewards propounded and promised to the Victors, Challenges are sent abroad unto Strangers either to be Umpiers or Actors of Feats of Arms.

Charles the eight the French King, having an Ambition to reannex, the Dutchy of French Bretaign to the Crown of France, either by arms or the Marriage of Anne the apparent heir, under the pretext and shadow of those painted Justings, sendeth to scotland some of the bravest Gentlemen of his Court, desiring privily the assistance of King James a-

gainst

gainst the English, if it should fall forth that the King of Eng-

land troubled his Designs.

Not long after well and honorably accompanied arriveth in Scotland a young man naming himself Richard Duke of Tork fon to Edward the fourth, true Inheritour of the Crown of England, divers Neighbor Princes testifying the same by

the Letters, which contained,

That Edward the eldest fon of Edward the fourth who succeeded his Father in the Crown, by the Name of Edward the fifth was murthered by Richard Duke of Gloucester their unnatural Uncle; but Richard the younger son bis Brother, by the Man who was employed to execute that Tragedy (making report to the Tyrant that he had performed his command for both Brethren) was (aved. and with speed and secrecy convoyed to Tourney, there concealed and brought up by his Fathers Sifter Margarite Dutchafs of Burgundy; Nhat King James should acknowledge this for Truth, and friendly affift this young Man, who was that very Richard Duke of York, to recover his inheritance, now most unjustly usurped and Possessed by Henry Tuder Earl of Richmond; That the right of Kings extended not onely to the safe preservation of their own but also to the aid of all such Allies, as change of time and State bath often burled down from Crowns to undergo an exercise of sufference in both fortunes: and Kings should repossels Kings wrongfully put from their own. As his Predeceffors to whose royal vertues he was heir, had repossessed Henry the fixth King of England, Spoiled of his Kingdom and distressed, by which Charity obliging all virtuous Princes unto him, he should find ever as his own, Maximilian of Bohemia, Charles of France, and Margarite Dutchess Dowager of Burgundy.

King James graciously receiving this young man told him That what soever he were, he should not repent him of putting himfelf into his hands, and from that time forth, though many gave Informations against him as a Counterfeit, entertained him every way as a Prince, embraced his quarrel, and feiling both his own eyes, and the eyes of the world, he gave consent that this Duke should take to wife Lady Katherine Gordoun daughter to the Earl of Huntley, which some thought he did to increase the Factions of Perkins in England, stir the discontented Subjects against King Henry, and to encourage

his own Subjects to side on his quarrel.

Not long after in person with this Duke of Tork in his Company, who affured him of powerful affiftance, he entered with an Army into Northumberland, but not one Man comming to fide with them, the King turned his enterprize into a Road, and after he had spoiled the Countrey returned into Scotland. It is faid that Perkin acting the part of a Prince handsomely, where he saw the Scots pillaging and wasting wasting of the Countrey came to the King, and in a deploring manner requested him to spare his afflicted people, that no Crown was so dear to his Mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his people: whereun to King Iames answered he was ridiculously careful of an interest another man possessed, and which perhaps was none of his. The King of England who delighted more to draw treasure from his people than to hazard the spilling of their blood, to revenge the predatory war of the Scots, and find out Perkin, requireth a subsidy of his Subjects: and though sew believed he would follow so far a slying

Hart, he was levying a puissant Army.

No fooner this Subfidy began to be collected amongst the Cornifb-men when they began to grudge and murmur and afterwards rebelled; which when it was understood of the King, he retained the forces raised, for his own fervice and use. In the mean time dispatching the Earl of Surrey to the North to attend the Scots incursions, whilft the Cornish-men are in their March towards London, King James again entered the Frontiers of England with an Army and belieged the Castle of Norham in person. But understanding the Earl of Surrey was advancing with greater forces, loaden with spoil he returned back again; the Earl of Surrey finding no Enemy, fat down before the Castle of Aytoun, which be took, and foon after returned into Englands the cold season of the year, with the unseasonableness of the weather driving away time, invited a Treaty of Peace on both sides.

Amidst these turmoyls and unprofitable incursions of the two Kingdoms, Ferdinando and Isabella of Spain sent one Peter Hialas to treat a marriage between Katherine one of their Daughters, and Arthur Prince of Wales. This allyance being agreed upon, and almost brought to perfection, King Henry desirous of quietness, and to have an end of all Debates, especially these with Scotland, communicateth his intentions to Hialas a man wise and learned, and whom he thought able to be employed in such a service: for it stood not with his Reputation to sue unto his enemy for Peace.

But Hislas a stranger unto both, as having Direction from his Master for the Peace of Christian and Neighbor Princes,

might take upon him this reconciliation.

Hialas accepteth the Embassage, and comming to King James, after he had brought him to hearken to more safe and quiet Counsels, wrote unto King Henry, That he hoped that Peace might easily be concluded, if he would send some wise and temperate Counsellour of his own, that might treat of the Conditions.

Whereupon the King directeth the Bishop of Duresm, Richard Fox, who at that time was at his Castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some Commissioners deputed from King James. The Commissioners of both sides meet at Jedbrough, and dispute many articles and conditions of Peace. Restitution of the spoils taken by the Scotish, or dammages for the same is desired: but that was passed as a matter impossible to be performed. An enterview in person at Newcastle is desired of both Kings: which being referred to King James his own arbitrement, he is reported to have answered that he meant to treat a Peace, and not go a begging for it.

The breaking of the Peace for Perkin Warbeck is highly aggravated by the Bishop, and he demanded to be deliver'd to the King of England; That a Prince should not easily believe with the common people, that Perkin was a siction, and such an one that if a Poet had projected the sigure, it could not have been done more to admiration, than the house of York by the old Dutchess of Burgundy, sister to Edward the sourth, having sirst raised Lambert Simnel, and at last this Perkin, to personate Kings and seduce the people. His birth, education, not residence in any one Place proved him a Pageant King, that he was a reproach to all Kings, and a personnot protected by the Law of Nations.

The Bishop of Glasgow answered for his Master, That the love and Amity grounded upon a Common cause and universal conclusion amongst Kings to defend one another, was the main foun. dation upon which King James had adventured to affift Edward Duke of York; that he was no competent Judge of his title; he had received him as a Suppliant, protected him as a person fled forrefuge, esponsed him with his Kinsewoman, and aided him with Arms upon the belief that he was a Prince; that the People of Ireland, Wales, and many in England acknowledged him no less than their King, whether he were so or not; sith for a Prince he had hitherto defended him, he could not leave him upon the Relation of his most terrible Enemy and the present Possessour of his Crown. That no Prince was bound to render a Subject to another who had come to him for Sanctuary, less a Prince who had recourse unto him for aid and Supply, and was now allyed with the antient blood of the Countrey.

Much being said at last they conclude upon a truce for

fome moneths following.

After this treaty of Peace the Counterfeit Duke of Tork, with his Lady, and such Followers as would not leave him, sailed over into Ireland.

This Truce, happily concluded and continued, by a trifling and untoward accident went neer to have been given up and broken.

There were certain Scottish young men came into Norham Town, and having little to do went sometimes forth and would stand looking upon the Castle. Some of the Garrison of the Castle observing them, and having not their Minds purged of the late ill-humour of Hostility, either suspected them or quarrel'd with them as spyes, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, so that many were wounded of either fide, and the Scots (being strangers in the Town) had the worst: Insomuch that some of them were flain, and the rest made hast home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marshes of both sides, and no good order taken, King James took it to himself, and sent Marchmond Herauld to the King of England to make protestation, That if reparation were not done according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did de-The King of England (who had often tryed nounce mar. fortune, and was enclined to Peace) made answer, That what had been done was utterly against his will, and without his privity: But if the Garrison Souldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the Truce in all points to be preserved. answer pleased not King James. Bishop Fox understanding his discontent, being troubled that the occasion of breaking the Truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the King of Scotland to appeale him. Whereupon King lames molified by the Bishops submiss and discreet Letters, wrote back again unto him, That though he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully Satisfyed except be spake with himself, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The Bishop advising first with his Master, took his journey to Scotland: the meeting was at the Abby of Melrofe where the King then abode. King first roundly uttered unto the Bishop his offence conceived for the breach of the Truce by his Men at Norham Castle, after speaking with him a part, he told him, That these temporarie Truces, and Peace were soon made and soon broken: but that he desired a straiter Amity with the King of England, discovering his Mind, that if the King would give him in Marriage the Lady Margarite his eldest Daughter, That indeed might be a knot indissolvable; That he knew well what Place and Power the Bishop deservedly had with his Master; therefore if he would take the business to beart, and deal in it effectually, be doubted not but it would well succeed.

The Bishop answered soberly, That he thought himself rather happy than worthy, to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop of Durhum returning from Scotland to his King at London, and giving

til-

count what had passed, and finding his King more than well disposed in it, gave the King first advice to proceed to a conclusion of Peace, and then go on with the Treaty of Marriage by degrees; hereupon a Peace was concluded to continue for both the Kings lives, and to the overliver of them one year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, That no English man should enter into Scotland, nor no Scotch man into England, without Letters Commendatory from the king of either Nations.

During this Treaty of the Marriage it is reported that the King of England referred this matter to his Council, and that some of the Table in freedom of Counsellours (the King being present) had put the case, That Issues Males and Females failing of the race of his two Sons, that then the Kingdome of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the Monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replyed, That if any such event should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less, and that it was a safer union for England than that of France.

Shortly after, the espousals of Iames King of Scotland with Lady Margarite the King of Englands eldest Daughter sollowed: which were done by Proxie in all solemn manner. The Assurance and contract was published at Pauls Cross the 25. of Ianuary at London, in applause of which Hymns were publickly sung in the Churches, and Bonsires with great feasting and banqueting set throughout all the City.

Iulius the second in the beginning of this Treaty did gratifie King lames with a Sword and Diadem wrought with flowers of Gold (which the Popes on Christmass even used to confecrate, a custome first brought in by Sixtus Quartus) which were presented to him at Holy-Rood-House; the marriage was in August following consummate at Edenbrough, King Henry bringing his Daughter as far as Colliveston on the way: where his Mother the Countels of Richmond aboade; and then refigning her to the attendance of the Earl of Northumberland who with a great Train of Lords and Ladies of Honour brought her into Scotland to the King her Husband folemn daies were kept at Court for banquetting. Masks and Revelling, Barriers and Tilting proclaimed. Challenges were given out in the Name of the Savage Knight (who was the King himself) Rewards designed to the Victors. Old King Arthur with his Knights of the Round-Table were here brought upon the Lists. The same of this Mariage had drawn many Forreign Gentlemen to the Court. Amongst others came Monsieur Darcie, naming himself Le Sieur de la Beautie, who tryed Barriers with the Lord Hamilton, after they had tilted with grinding Spears. Some of the Savage Knights Company (who were robust high-land men) he giving way unto them, smarted really in these seigned Conslicts, with Targets and two-handed Swords to the Musick of their Bagpipes, sighting as in a true battel, to the admiration of the English and French, who had never seen men so ambitious of wounds and prodigal of blood in sport. All were magnificently entertain'd by the King, and with honourable Largesses and Rewards of their Valour, licensed to return Home.

During the Treaty of this Marriage with England, a Monster of a new and strange shape was born in Scotland near the City of Glasgow, the body of which under the waste or middle varied nothing from the common shape and proportion of the bodies of other men, the members both for use and comline's being two, their faces looking one way; fitting they feemed two men to fuch who faw not the parts beneath, and standing it could not be discerned to which of the two Bulks above the thigh sand legs did appertain. They had differing passions, and diverse wills, often chiding others for disorder in their behaviour and actions: after much deliberation embracing that unto which they both consented. By the Kings direction they were carefully brought up, and instructed in Musick and Foreign Languages. This Monster lived twenty and eight years, and dyed when John Duke of Albany Governed. Claud Gruget maketh mention of the like Monster born in Paris before the marriage of Henry the fourth the French King with Margarite of Valois, but the birth and death of it were neer together.

The King by his great Liberality unto Strangers abroad, and his lavish spending at home, for religious Places were founded, Castles repaired, Ships builded (three of an extraordinary greatness) finding himself needy of Treasure to support the dayly expences at Court, engaged to many and funck deep in debt; and that Subfidies he could not levy except by the Suffrages of his Parliament, by whose power they were imposed and rated setteth the most learned Counfellors at Law, and men experienced in foreign Policy to find out new means and waies to acquire and gather him monies by Laws already made and Ordained, which was in effect to pole the people by executing the rigour of Justice, the Fortunes of wife men arising often on the expences of Fools, after the example of King Henry the seventh of England, his Father-in law, who taking the advantage of the breach of his penal Statutes gave power to Sir Richard Empfon and Ed. mand Dudley by Intormers and Promoters to oppress and ruin the estates of many of his best Subjects, whom King Henry

the

the eight to satisfy his wronged people, after his decease caused execute. Old customes are by these men pryed into, and

forgotten absolet Statutes quickned.

Amongst the titles of possessing of Lands in Scotland there is one, which in process of time of an ungodly custom grew strong and is kept for a Law, being fetched by imitation from the Lawes of the neighbouring States; That if the possession of Lands dy, and leave a Minor to succeed to him his Tutelage belongeth to the King, and the profit of the Lands until the Minor be of the age of one and twenty years. This is of those lands which are termed Wards. cauleth bring up his Wards, but bestoweth no more of their Rents upon them than is useful to such of that age. nother Law they have not any thing better than this, which they call Recognition, that if the evidences of any possessour of Ward-lands be not in all points formal, and above exceptions of Law, the lands (the possessiours put from them) shall return to the Lord Superiour: and like to this, That if a Possession of Ward Lands without the consent of the Superiour, sell and put away the half, or above the half of his land and Farm, the whole land and Farm returneth to the Superiour or Lord Paramount. They have lands held with clauses which they call irritant, that if two terms of a few duty run unpaid into the third, the Land falleth unto the Su-When those lawer and other like them by reason periour. of the Neighbour incursions and troubles with England, and the civil broyls at home had been long out of use amongst the Subjects, and the execution of them as it were in a mannerforgot, these Projectors and new Tol-masters the king giving way to enrich his Exchequer, awakned them. Many of the subjects by these inquirles were obnoxious to the king and smarted, but most the most honest, who were constrained either to buy their own lands and inheritance from the Exchequer, or quit and freely give some portion of them to those Caterpillars of the State. The King was so dearly beloved of his people, that in the height of those Grievan. ces (which reached near the exorbitant avarice of his Father) none refused or made difficultie to give all that the laws ordained. The King feeing their willingness to perform, and knowing their great disability thereunto, out of his singular Grace and Goodness remitteth not onely the rigour, but even the equity almost of his lawes, insomuch that thereafter none of his Subjects were damnified in their persons or estates by his proceedings: which gain'd him the hearts of all: And to put away all suspitions and jealousies from their minds (an Ordinary practice amongst Princes) acts that fill Princes coffers ever being the ruin of their first Projectors

of any wrong intended, He suffered the Promoters and Projectors of this polling, with others of the most active to be thrown into Prisons, where some miserably ended their daies.

The year 1507. James Prince of Scotland and Isles was born at Holy-rood House, the 21. of January: the Queen in her throwes of birth, being brought neer the last agony of death, the King (overcome with affection and religious vows) taketh a Pilgrimage for her recovery on foot to Saint Ninian: in Galloway; a place in those credulous times famous for the burial of St. Ninian the Apostle of the Britains, and notorious by the many Processions and Visits of the neighbour Countreys of Ireland and England; at his return he fin. deth his Queen recovered, the child after dyed at sterlin. with the Bishop of Galloway, who was appointed to attend him. The year following the Queen brought forth another fon named Arthur at Holy-rood-House, but he died also in the Castle of Edenburgh: and Henry the seventh his Grandfather accompanyed him to the other world. King James to the Coronation of the young King his Brother-in, law fendeth Embassadours.

After the death of his two Sons, and his Father-in-Law, as if he had been warned from above to think upon his own mortality (whether he had a resolute intention so to do, or that for reasons known to himself, he would have it so appear) he giveth out, That out of remorse for bearing arms in the Field where his Father was slain, he had a resolution to leave his kingdom and visit the holy Sepulchte. Then to prepare his way Robert Blacka-Towre Abbot of Dumfermling is directed; but the Abbot in his journey is arrested by death, and the King sindeth other hinderances to keep him at

Home.

Amidst these deliberations his Queen is delivered in the Pallace of Linlithgow of her third Son, in the Moneth of April 1512. who succeeded to the Crown, and was named

James.

About this same time Bernard Stuart that samous Warrior under Charls the eight of France, who commanded the French in Bosworth Field, came to Scotland, sollowed by Andrew Forman then Arch-Bishop of Burges, and Bishop of Murray, with Alexander Stuart the Kings natural son, after promoted to be Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews. The cause which was given out to the rumours of the people of their comming, was, That the French King having no male children, crav'd the advice and counsel of the King of Scotland his Confederate, concerning the marriage of his Eldest Daughter: whether he should bestow her upon Francis of Valois, the Daulphine

and Duke of Augulesm, or upon Charles King of Castile, who had presented her with many tokens of affection, and by his Embassadours earnestly sought her from her Brother. But their great errand was to divide the King from his Brother in law King Henry, and make him affist Looys: these two

Potentates intending a war against other.

Anne Daughter of Francis Duke of Bretaign after the death of her Sister Isabella remained sole heir of that Dutchy, her wardship falling to the French King Charles the eight; He terrified so her Subjects, guided her kinred, and the principal persons about her, that making void the pretended marriage of Maximilian king of the Romans, which was by Proxie, the was married unto him. Notwithstanding he had the Daughter of Maximilian at his Court, with great exspectation of a mariageto be celebrate with her. After the death of King Charles, Lovys the twelf having marryed Jane the Sister of charles and Daughter to Lovys the eleventh, by his many favours bestowed upon Pope Alexander the fixth, and his Son Cefar Borgia, obtaineth a Brief of Divorce against her, by the power of which (her weakness for the bearing of Children (the necessary upholders of a Crown) by his Physicians being proved) he had married Anne of Bretaign, for he would not loofe to fair a Dowry for the bluftering rumour of Malecontents, which in a littletime would grow stale and vanish. Pope Alexander dead, Julius the second, a turbulent, unquiet, but magnificent Prelate, and a stout defender of Church Patrimony, Suspitious of the power of the French in Italy, and that they would not rest content with the kingdom of Naples and Dutchy of Milan, but one day hazard for all; fearing also they would, because they might, put him out of his Chair, and substitute in his Room their Cardinal of Amboise, or someother of their own, began to study novations and means to fend the French back to their own Countrey, his ordinary discourse being that he would one day make Italy free from Barbarians. He require th King Loon to give over the protection of the Duke of Ferrara, and of Annibal Bentivoglio whom he had thrust out of Bulloign. The King refusing to for sake Confederates, the Pope betaketh him to his spiritual Arms, and threatneth with Excommunication the Duke and all who came to his aid and support, especially the French; they decline his Sentence, and appeal to a true and lawful General Council, with which they threaten him. Henry the eight then in the fervour of his youth, amidst a great Treasure left by his Father, and by more than ordinary bands of love and friendship tyed to the Pope, (as having dispensed with the marying his Brothers widdow) interposeth himself as an Indifferent Medi-

Mediator and Intercessor for Peace between the two parties. but in effect was the chief maintainer of the Quarrel, effecting nothing because he would not. Conditions being refused by King Henry, he effayeth draw the French arms from the Popes territories by cutting them work neerer home, and bringing a necessity upon them to defend their own. Upon this determination he defireth king Lovys to restore and render to him his Dutchies Guyenne and Normandy with his antient inheritance of Anjow and Mayne, and the other old Pofseffions of the English in France, which wrongfully had been detained and kept from him and his Ancestors. The war of Italy by these threatnings was not left of: for the Pope conming to Bollogn with intention to invade Ferrara, is belieged with his Cardinals, and he sendeth Declarations to the Christian Princes, protesting the French not only thirsted after the Patrimony and Inheritance of S. Peter, but even after Christian blood. Mean while he absolveth the Subjects of King Lowys from their oath of Allegiance, abandoneth his kingdom to any can posless it; at a Council at Lateran hedisparched a Bull wherein the title of most Christian King is transferred upon Henry king of England, who to his former titles of France having now the approbation of the Pope, and the kingdom interdicted, prepareth an expedition in perfon. After which with five thouland barded Horses, fourty thousand Foot, comming in Picardie, he encampeth before Therovenne, a Town upon the Marches of Picardie: Here the Emperour Maximiliam, resenting yet his old injury, entreth into the King of Englands pay, and weareth the crofs of Saint George: But so long as he Staied in the Army, it was governed according to his counsel and direction.

King James before his meeting with Bernard Stuart and Bishop Forman, was fully purposed to prove an indifferent beholder of this War: but Bernard having corrupted the Courtiers, and the Bishop the chief Church-man of the kingdom, after their long and earnest intercession he was drawn

altogether to affect and adhere to the French.

To throw the apple of Dissention, Bishop Forman is sent to king Henry to demand certain Jewels by their Fathers will, or her Brothers Prince Arthurs; appertaining to Queen

Margarite his Sifter.

King Henry mistrusting that Embassy, offereth all and more than they demand from him. Shortly after the English beginning to interrupt the traffick of the French by Sea, king sames will send his Ships, lately well mann'd and equipped for fight, which not long before had been prepared (as was given out) to transport the king into Syria to his Cosin Queen Ann, supposing this Gift would rather seem a Pledge of friend-

ship and alliance to the English than any Supply of Warre. But James Earl of Arrain having got the command of them, instead of salling towards France, arriveth in Ireland, whether by tempest of weather, or that he would disturb the Kings proceedings in assisting the French, instigated and corrupted by King Henry, it is uncertain: and after he had spoild Knock-Fergus a maritime village, returneth with them to the Town of Ayre.

The King taking in an evil part the invalion of Ireland, but more the lingring of the Earl, for he had received Letters from Queen Anneand Bishop Forman, regretting the long and vain expectation of his Ships, giveth the Earl of Angus, and Sir Andrew Wood a Commission for both him and them. The Earl of Arrain by his Friends at Court, understanding his Masters displeasure, ere they could find him, hoiseth up Sails, and committeeth himself rather to the uncertain fortune of the Seas, than the just wrath of a King. After great Tempest arriving in French Bretaign, these Ships built at such extraordinary Charges, Sayls and Cordage being taken from them, rotted and consumed by weather, in the Haven of Bress.

Now matters grew more exasperate between the Brother Kings; Robert Car Warden of the Borders is killed by three English, Hieron, Lilburn, Strutbers. Andrew Barton, who upon an old quarrel begun in the reign of King James the third, had purchased Letters of Reprisal against the Portingals, by Thomas Howard the English Admiral is slain, and his Ships taken. To this last Grievance (when it was expostulated) King Henry is said to have answered, That truce among st Princes was

never broken for taking or killing of Pyrates.

Alexander Lord Hume Warden of the East Marches in Revenge of accumulated injuries with three thousand men invadeth the English Borders, burneth some Villager, and forrageth the Fields about. But having divided his forces, and sent a part of them loaden with spoils towards Scotland, he falleth in an ambush of the English: where Sir William Bulmure with a thousand Archers put him to flight, and took his Brother George. During these border incursions, the Lord Dacres and Doctor West came as in an Embassy from England, not so much for establishing a Peace, and settling those tumults, begun by the meeting of Commissioners (who assembled and concluded nothing) as to give their Master certain and true Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Scots with the French, and what they attempted.

Monsieur de la Motte was come with Letters from the French to stir king James to take arms against the English, and had in his voyage drowned three English Ships, bringing seven with him as Prizes to the Harbour of Leyth. Robert Bartoun in revenge of Andrew Bartouns death, at that same time returned with thirteen Vesicls all Prizes. King Lovys had sent a great ship loaden with Artillery, Powder and Wines; in which Mr. lames Oguylbuy Abbot of Drybrough arrived, with earnest request for the renuing of the antient League between France and Scotland, and Letters froom Queen Anne for the invasion of England. In which she regretted he had not one Friend nor maintainer of his Honour at the Court of France (after the late delay of the sending his Ships) except her self and her Ladies: that her request was, He would for her sake whom he had honoured with the name of his Mistress in his Martial sports in time of peace, march but one mile upon the English bounds, now in time of an appearing war against her Lord and Countrey.

The King thinking himself already engaged and interested in his same, drawn away by the promises, eloquence, and other persuasions of the French, assembleth the three Estates of his Kingdom to deliberate about a war with England. Many oppose it, but in vain; for at last for sear of the Kings displeasure it is concluded, uncertain whether by a worse Counsel or event. But before any hostility against the English they determine and decree that King Henry shall by an Herauld be sairly advertised and desired to desist from any surther invasion of the Territories of the French King, or Duke of Guilders (who was General of the French Army) the King of scotlands Consederates and Kinsemen: which not being yielded unto, the Warre as lawfull and just shall be denoun-

ced.

Henry the eight then besieging Therovenne, answered the Herauld who delivered his Commission: That he heard no thing from him, but what he had expected from a King a Despiser of Gods and Mans Law; for himself, he would not give over a War so happily began for any threats. Neither did he care much for that Mans triendship, of whose unconstancy he had so often had experience, nor for the power of his Kingdom and ambitious poverty.

After this answer of the King of England, A Declaration by the King of Scotland was published almost to this

sense.

Though Princes should direct their Actions more to conscience than Fame, and are not bound to give an account of them to any but to God alone, and when Armies are prepared for Battel, they look not so much to what may be said, as to what ought to be done; the Victors being ever thought to have had reason upon their side, and the justest cause: yet to manifest our sincerity, and the uprightness of our proceedings, as well to these present times as to positive.

## Of JAMES the fourth.

sterity, who may bereafter enquire after our deportments, that all may take a full view of our intentions and courses, we have been mov'd to lay down the justness and equity of our Arms before the Tribunal of the World.

The Laws of Nations and of Nature, which are grounded upon the Reason by which Man is distinguished from other Creatures, oblige every one to defend limself; and to seek means for ones own preservation is a thing unblamable; but the Laws of Soveraignty lay greater Obligations upon us, and above all men Monarchs and they to whom God hath given the Governments of States and Kingdomes, are not only bound to maintain and defend their own Kingdomes, Estates and Persons, but to relieve from unjust Oppression, so far as is in their power, being required, their Friends. Neighbours and Confederates, and not to suffer the weak to be owerthrown by the stronger. The many Innovations and troubles raised upon all sides about us, the wrongs our Subject's have suffered, by the insolencies and arrogancy of the Counsellors of Henry King of England our Brother-in-Law, are not onely known to our Neighbour, but blazed amongst remotest Countreys. Roads and Incursions have been made upon our Borders; Sundry of our Leiges have been taken, and as in a just warr, turned Prisoners; the Warden of our Marches under Assurance hath been miserably kelled; our Merchants at Sea invaded, Spoiled of their goods, libertiet, lives: above others, the chief Captain of our Ships put to Death, and all by the kings own Commission; upon which breach. es between the two kingdomes, disorders and manifest wrongs com. mitted upon our Subjects, when by our Embassadours we had divers times required satisfaction and Reparation, we received no justice or answer worthy of him or us, our Complaints being rejected, and we disdainfully contemned, that longer to Suffer such Inso. lencies, and not by just force to resist unjust violence, and by dangers to feek a remedy against greater or more imminent dangers; Not to stand to the defence of our Lieges, and take upon us their protection, were to invite others to offer the like affronts and injuries to us bereafter.

Besides these Breaches of Duty, Outrages, Wrongs done unto us, his Brother Henry king of England without any just cause or violence offered to him or any of his by the king of France, hath levyed a mighty Army against him, invaded his Territories, using all hostility: Continuing to a Jault and force his Towns, make his Subjects Prisoners, kill and ransom them, impose Subsidies, and list moneys from the quieter sort, which wrongs, dammage and injustice we cannot but repute done unto us in respect of our earnest intercessions unto him and many requests rejected, and that antient League between the two kingdomes of France and Scotland, in which these two Nations are obliged respectively, and mutually bound to assist others against all Invaders what soever; that the

Enemy

Enemy of the one shall be the Enemy of the other, and the Friends of the one the Friends of the other. As all motions tend unto rest, the end of a just war being Peace, that our Brother (who bath no such Enemy as the too great Riches and abundance in which be swimmeth) may entertain Peace with his Brother Princes, and moderate that boundless ambition, which maketh him usurp Dominion over his equals; we have been compelled to take us to defensive arms; for our Brother hath now declared himself, and vaunteth that he is sole Judge and Umpire of the Peace of Europe, and that from his will, the differences of Successions and Titles of Principalities, wrongs and other interests depend, as that all should be obsequious to his authority; and what particular Authority can be more intolerable, than that he should hinder so great and just a Prince as the King of France to claim his own and defend his Subjects?

If our Brother the king of England by the supply and assistance of many neighbour Countreys, now by the Provocation of the Bishop of Rome, arising upon all sides against the French, should extend his Power and Victory over France (under what colour and pretence of Justice so ever) to what an extremity shall the kingdom of Scotland be reduced having so powerful and ambitious a Neighbour? Fear of any neighbour Princes Greatness, when it extendeth it self over adjacent Territories, is a Good cause of Defence and taking of Armes, which cannot be but just, sith most neces-

fary.

We are not ignorant that here will be objected against us. The breach of a League contracted between our Brother and us: We bave not broken that League; but for great Caufes and Reasons separate our selves from it, our Brother having taken away the means, occasions, reasons, were had to observe it. In all Leagues, Confederations, Alliances and Promises amongst Princes, the last Confederation is ever understood to be contracted without prejudice to the Rights of any former Alliances: and when our Embas-Sadours made that League with our Brother, it was to be understood that it should hold no longer, nor we longer be bound unto it than be should keep to our first Allies and antient Confederates, not breaking their Peace, nor troubling the Government and Estates of their Countreys. A National League is ever to be preferred before any personal, an antient to a new; the Leagues between the kingdomes of France and Scotland baving continued many ages, should justly he preferr'd to that which we as a new Ally of the house of England did contract, which yet we are most willing to keep: but the love of our Countrey passing all private respects bath mov'd us to separate our selves for a time from it.

All Leagues, Confederations, Alliances, Promises amongst Princes are respectively and mutually understood, with this condition and Law, providing both keep upon either side; the one party breaking

breaking or departing from the League, Allyance or Promise, the other is no longer bound to keep nor adhere unto it. So long as the King of England kept unto us, we kept unto Him: He now having many waies broken to us, we are no longer obliged to keep to him; That same out h which obliged and tyed us, after his breach absolving and making us free; and of this we divers times advertised him, giving him assurance, except we would be tray that Trust and considence our Subjects and Confederates had in us for the maintenance of their peace and safety, we could not but assist them in their just cause (how soever the justest actions have not ever the mrst profitable events) and be constrained to have a recouse to arms for a remedy of their present misery.

And now notwithstanding of our advanced Expedition, and preparations for war, that the world may judge rightly of our intentions, We declare and manifest that if our brother shall leave off the Invasion of our Confederates, use no more hostility against them, and give satisfaction for the wrongs done unto our Subjects, that we shall disband our forces: and are content that all matters of difference as well between the King of France, and our brother, as our brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and taken away. As that not only a Truce and Cessation of their Miserie for a time, but a perfect and lasting Peace be concluded and established, to the full content ment, and lasting happiness of the three kingdoms and our posterity.

Whilest the King staied at Linlithgow attending the gathering of his Army, now ready to fet forward, and full of cares and perplexity, in the Church of St. Michael heard Evenfong (as then it was called) while he was at his Devotion, an antient Man came in his amber coloured locks hanging down upon his Shoulders, his fore-head high and enclining to baldness, his Garment of azure colour, somewhat long girded about him with a Towel or Table Napkin, of a comely and reverend aspect. Having enquired for the King, he intruded himself into the prease, passing thorow till he came to him, with a clownish simplicity, leaning over the Canons Seat where the King fate, Sir (faid he) I am fent hither to intreat you for this time to delay your expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended journey: for if you do, ye shall not prosper in your enterprize, nor any of your follo-I am farther charged to warn you, if ye be fo refractory as to go forward, not to use the acquaintance, company or counsel of Women, as ye tender your honour, life and estate.

After this warning he withdrew himself back again, into the prease; when service was ended, the King enquired earnestly, for him, but he could no where be found, neither could could any of the Standers by (of whom diverse did narrowly observe him, meaning afterwards to have discoursed further with him) seel or perceive how, when, or where he passed from them: having as it were vanished in their hands.

After his Army had mustered in the Borrow-moor of Edenburgh (a field then spacious and delightful by the shades of many stately and aged Oaks) about the midst of the Night there is a Proclamation heard at the Market Cross of the Town, summoning a great many Burgesses, Gentlemen, Barons, Noblemen to appear within fourty daies before the Tribunal of one Plot-Cock; the Provost of the Town in his Timber Gallery having heard his own Name cited, cried out that he declined that Judicatory and appeal'd to the mercy of

God almighty.

Nothing was the King moved with those advertisements, thinking them Scenick pieces acted by those who hated the French and favoured the English faction: being so boldly and to the life personated that they appalled and stroke with fear ordinary and vulgar judgements, as Trage-Comedies of Spirits. The Earl of Anguls diffwaded him from that expedition, and many of the most reverend Church-men, but the Angel which most conjured him was Margarite his Queen who at that time was with child, her tears and prayers shook the strongest beams of his Resolutions. She had acquainted him with the Visions and affrightments of her sleep; that her Chains and Armelets appeared to be turned into Pearls; the had feen him fall from a great Precipice; She had loft one of her eyes. When he had answered these were but Dreams, arising from the many thoughts and cares of the Day, but it is no Dream (faith she) that ye have but one Son, and him a a weakling; if otherwaies than well happen unto you, what a lamentable day will that be, when ye shall leave behind you, to so tender and weak a Successour, under the Government of a woman, for inheritance, a miserable and bloody wat? It is no dream that ye are to fight a mighty people; now turned insolent by their riches at home and power abroad: that your Nobilitie are indigent ye know, and may be brib'd to leave you in your greatest danger. What a folly, what a blindness is it to make this war yours, and to quench the fire in your Neighbours house of France, to kindle and burn up your own in scotland? ye have no such reason to asfift the French, as ye have to keep your promifes to England, and enjoy a Peace at home. Though the English should make a conquest of France, will they take your Crown, or disin herit their own rece, this is even as the left hand would cut off the right? Should the Letters of the Queen of France, (a woman woman twice married (the first half in Adultery, the last almost Incest) whom ye did never nor shall ever see) prove
more powerful with you, than the cryes of your little Son,
and mine, than the tears, complaints, curses of the Orphans
and Widdows which ye are to make? If ye will go, suffer
me to accompany you; it may be my Countrey-men prove
more kind towards me than they will to you; and for my
sake yield unto a Peace. I hear the Queen my Sister will be
with the Army in her husbands absence; if we shall meet,
who knowes what God by our means may bring to pass.

The King answered all her complaints with a speedy march which he made over the Tweed: not staying till the whole forces came to him, which were arising and prepared.

The twenty two of August comming into England he encamped neer the water of Twifel in Northumberland, whereat Iwisel-haugh he made an Act, that if any man were slain or hurt to death by the English, during the time of his aboade in England. his heirs should have his Ward, Relief and ma. riage. Norham, Wark, Foord, Easel, are taken and cast down. Amidst this hostility the Lady Foord (a noble Captive) was brought in a piety-pleading manner, with her daughter (a Maid of excellent beauty) to the Camp. Not without the Earl of surreys direction, as many supposed, for they have a vigorous Prince and his Son (though natural by the gifts of Nature and Education above many lawful) to try the Magick of their eloquence and beauty upon. The King delighting in their Company, not only hearkeneth to the discourse of the Mother, but giveth way to her counsel: which was, if she should be dismissed, to send him true and certain intelligence of what the English would attempt, taking her way to their Camp: but in effect proved the winning of time to the Earl of Surrey, and the louing of occasion to Her few daies stay bred in him a kind of carlessnesse, floath, procastination and delay, a neglect, and as it were a forgetfulness of his Army and business: eighten daiestarying in England, in a Territory not very fertile, had confum'd much provision, the Souldiers began to want necessaries, a number in the night by blind pathes returned to their own Countrey. In a short time only the Noblemen and their Vaffalsattended the King. These request him not to spend more time on that barren Soyl, but to turn their Forces against Berwick, which Town was of more importance, than all the Hamlers and poor Villages of Northumberland, neither was it impregnable or difficile to be taken, the Town and Castle being no waies provided and furnished to endure a fiege. The Courtiours move the King to continue the beleaguering of Berwick till their comming back: which would be

be an easie conquest Norsbumberland once forrag'd, in absence

of the bravest of the English then in France.

Whilelt the Army languished, and the King Spent time at Foord, the Earl of Surrey directe: han Herauld to his Camp. requiring him either to leave off the invalion of his Masters Countrey, and turn back giving fatisfaction for wrongs committed; or that he would appoint a day and place wherein all differences might be ended by the Sword. This Challenge being advised in Counsel, most voices were that they should return home, and not with so small number as remained endanger the State of the whole Kingdom, enough being already atchieved for fame, and too much for their frienthip with France; why should a few Souldiers, and these already tired out by forcing of Strengths, throwing down Ca. fles be hazarded against such multitudes of the English, supplyed lately and encreased with fresh Auxiliaries? Thomas Howard Admiral, a Son of the Earl of Surrey, having newly brought with him to New Caftle out of the Army lying in France five thousand men, and one thousand tall Seamen. If they should return Home, the English Army could not but disband, and not conveniently this year be gathered again, confisting of men levied from far and distant Places. Again if they should be engaged to come to a Battail; their own Countrey, being fields to them well known, would prove more commodious and fecure to fight upon than English ground, besides the opportunity of furnishing and providing the Camp with all necessaries at less charges. The French Embassadour and others of his faction remonstrate to the King, what a shumeful retreit he would make, if at the defire of the Enemy he returned, and without the haz ard of a Battel, being so neer unto him; that by fightinglin England, he kept his own Countrey unforraged; and confum'd the Provision of his Enemy which at last would weaken his forces: That for contentment to both Armies, Islay a Scottiff Herauld should return with Rouge-Cross the English, and condescend upon a day, promising them the mean time tarrying and aboad till the righteoulness of the cause were decided in a Battel.

The set and appointed Day by the Heraulds in which the two Armies should have joined being come and the English not appearing, nor any from them: The Nobility again resort to the King; show how by the slight of the Enemy matters were prolonged from one day to another: the English forces daily encreasing, whilst the santish wear away and waxed fewer: that slight should be opposed to slight; the day designed by the Heraulds not being kept, it would be no reproach to them to turn home without battel, or if retiring.

to fight upon their own ground. If this counsel pleased him not, but that he would there give them battel, The next was to study all advantages for victory, either by stratagem, or the odds and furtherance of the Place of fight; Where the Chiviot hills decline towards the plainer fields arising behind them with high tops with best Ordnance should befortissed; the water of Till running deep and foord-less upon the right hand, and but passable at the Bridge, the first Companies of the enemy being passed, before they could be relieved and succoured by their followers, the Bridge by the Artilery should be beaten down, and the enemy charged when they began to pass the Water.

The King, impatient of Counsel, answered, though their number encreased to as many more as they were, he with that remainder of his Army would fight them. That advantages were to be imbraced according to the occasion of the fight without tedious deliberation, if any man was asraid he might if he pleased return Home. A strange Resolution in a Prince, who imagined every man in his Army to have the same strength, courage, boldness and resolution with

himself.

This answer astonished the Nobility, and since they could not perswade him to a fair retreat, but that he will fight and that without the advantage of the Bridge, being inferiour in number to the English ( for they were reckoned by the Scouts fix and twenty thousand) they fortify themselves according to the Commoditie of the Hill where they lay encamped with a resolution not to suffer the King to hazard his person in the battel. If victory should incline to them, their Gains were but smal and Glory less, extending but over some few of the Nobility, and a small parcel of the Body of the State of England, a number of yeomen, and pressed Horsemen, the flower of the Kingdom being in France. But if they were overthrown, their loss would prove uncoparable, yea unspekable, a martial yong King either kil'd, taken or put to flight; wherfore they think it fitting, not necellary, the King, be pleased with so many as either chance or election might separate with him, to be a Spectator of the fortune of the day. To this the King replyed, he neither wanted ability to discharge the part of a Souldier, nor wisdom to command as a General, and to outlive so many valiant Countrey-men would be more terrible to him than When forced to give way for his personall death it felf. presence in the field; they appoint some to be arraied in like furniture of Arms and a like Guard as the King; dows to personate him in fundry quarters of the field, that the enemy should not set one man as their chief mark to

invade

invade, from whose death the victory and conclusion of the war might depend: and if the King should fall, the Army should not lose courage, nor be brought to believe he were lost, so long as they saw a General with his Coignoscance and Guard present and neer them to be a witness of their valour and atchievements, as not long before at the battel of Fornou in Italy had been practiced by the French to their King

Charles the eight.

By this time the Earl of Surrey with the power of the North of England, was come within three miles of the Place where the Scottish Army was encamped, and perceiving he could not but with great disadvantage fight them; he sendeth an Herauld requiring the King to come forth of his strength to some indifferent ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The King being forward to condescend to this request, the Lords cryed out, it was madness to accept of opportunity of fighting from his Enemies, and to fet all at a main chance according to their appointment, it being their advantage to prolong time, and trifle with him, in whose Camp there was already scarcity of victuals, which ere long might put him to fuch a stand, that he should not know well what to do. Neither was it likely he could be furnished from the inner parts of the Countrey, by reason of the cumbersom waies for carriage to pass, after the falling of so great and continued rains, and the foftning of the Ground; that by fitting still, and committing nothing to Fortune, he might have his enemy at his pleasure; if they dared affail him at their perils be it. He lacked nothing but patience to be victorious.

The scots keeping their Trenches, the earl effayeth to draw them out, and the ninth of September removing his Camp marcheth towards the same Hill of Flowden where they lay encamped; his Vant-guard with the Cannon paffeth the water of Till at Tmy fel bridge, the Reer-ward going over at Mylnfoord. King James seeing them pass the water imagineth they meant to win a Hill between his Camp and them; To prevent which (fetting fire to the Cabanes raised of boughs of Trees and Reeds) he removeth to another Hill, before the English could observe his motion, the smoak darkning the aire between the two Armies. Whilft the scottish Army was removing the English advance to the foot of Flowden hill. by which they have double advantage, the Scottifb ordinance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards and under the level thereof, again by their shot they might easily gall their enemies as they came downwards upon them.

The fatal hour of the Battel approaching the English draw up in good order fix and twenty thousand men (some write

thirty ) in two Battails any of which was equall in number to the whole Scottish Army. Thomas Lord Howard Admirall had the Vant-guard, of which Sir Edmond Howard his Brother led one of the wings, and Sir Marmuduke Constable the other; The Lords Dacres and Cliffoord, with Sir Edward Stanley kept the Rear : the Earl of Surrey with Latymer Scroop, Sir Stephen Bull kept the main Battail. The Scots by their fewness of number not being able to order many Battailons, marshal themselves in four, three of which should enter in fight and the fourth attend for supply. The King kept the middle or main; Alexander Gordown Earl of Huntley had the right wing of the Van; the Earls of Crawford and Montrols led the other, and some have recorded the Lord Hume: The third Army was guided by Matthew Earl of Lennox, and the Earl of Arguyl, where was Machenney and Mackelean, with the fiercenels of the High-landers. Adam Hepburn Earl of Bothwell with his Friends and the flower of the Gentry of Lothian, kept off for fuddain dispatches and chances of the Battel.

The Earl of Huntley making down the Hill where they en. campt neer the foot of Branx Town, encountreth that Wing of the English Host which was led by Sir Edmond Howard. which after a furious and long fight he put to flight, and fo eagerly pursued the advantage, that Sir Edmond had either been killed or taken, if he had not been rescued by Bastard Hieron and the Lord Dacres, the Battaillon which the Earls Lennox and Arguyl led (being High-land men) encouraged with this first glance of victory, looling their Ranks, abandoning all order (for ought that the French Ambassadour La Motte by figns, threatnings, clamours, could do to them) brake furiously upon the enemy, and invade him in the Face, of whom they are not onely valiantly received, but by Sir Edward Stanleys traverling the Hill, enclosed, cut down at their backs and prostate. The Middle ward which the King led, with which now the Earl of Bothwell with the power of Lothian was joined, fought it out couragiously body against body, and Sword to Sword. Numbers upon either fide falling till darkness, and the black shadows of the Night, forced as it were, by consent of both, a Retreit: Neither of them understanding the fortune of the day, and unto whom victory appertained.

Many brave Scots did here fall, esteemed to above five thousand, of the noblest and worthiest Families of the kingdom: who choosed rather to dy than out-live their friends and Compatriots.

The Kingsnatural Son Alexander Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of the Isles, the Abbots of Inchiefray and

Kill-

Kill Winny, The Earls of Crawfoord, Mortoun, Arguyl, Lennox, Arrel, Cathness, Bothwel, Athol; the Lords Elphinstean, Aerskin, Forbes, Ross, Lovet, Saintclare, Maxwell, with his three Brothers, Simple, Borthick: Numbers of Gentlemen, Balgowny, Blacka-Towre, Borchard, Sir Alexander Seatoun, Makenny, with Macklean, George Master of Angus, and Sir William Dowglass of Glenbervy, with some two hundred Gentlemen of their name and Vassals were here slain.

The English left few less upon the place, but most part of them being of the common fort of Souldiers, and men of no great mark, compared with so many Nobles killed, and a King lost, the number was not esteemed nor the loss thought

any thing of.

The Companies of the Lord Hume had referved themselvs all the time of the fight, keeping their first order, and when by the Earl of Huntley, he was required to relieve the Battallion where the King sought, he is said to have answered, That that man did well that day who stood and saved himself. After the retreat his Followers gathered a great bootie of the spoils of the slaughtered. This fight began Sept. 9. about four of the clock after Noon, and continued three houres the year 1513.

About the dawning of the next Morning the Lord Daeres, with his Horse-Troops taking a view of the Field, and seeing the brazen Ordnance of the Scots not transported, with most part of the sale bodies not risled, sendeth speedy advertisement to the Howards and the pensive Army: inviting all to the setting up of Trophees, Spoil, and transporting of their great Ordnance to Berwick, amongst which were seven Culverins of like size and making, called the Seven

Sifters.

Divers diverfly report of the Fortune of the King; We without affirming any thing for certain, shall onely set down what Fame hath published, a false Witness often of human accidents, and which many times by malignant brains is forged, and by more malignant ears received and believed. The English hold that he was killed in this Battail; the Scots that many in like Arms with the like Guards, were killed, every one of which was held for the King: Amongst others Alexander Lord Elphinstown his Favourite, who had marryed Elizabeth Barley one of the Dames of Honour of Queen Margarite;

He was a man not unlike to the King in face and stature, and representing him in arms in the field, with the valiantest and most couragious of the Army fought it out, and acting heroically his part, as a King was killed, heaps of slaughtered bodies environing his. In the search where the fight was

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the number, taleness, furniture of the dead bodies being observed, their faces and wounds viewed, his body, as if it breathed yet majesty, was amidst the others selected, acknowledged for his Maisters, brought to Berwick and embalmed. That it was not the body of the King, the girdle of Iron which he ever wore, and then was not found about him,

gave some, though not certain, testimony.

Some have recorded that the fortune of the day inclining to the English, four tall men mounted upon lusty Horses, wearing upon the points of their Launces, for coignoscances, Streamers of Straw, mounting the King on a Sorrel Hackney, convoyed him far from the place of fight, and that he was seen beyond the Tweed, between Kelso and Dunce. After which what became of him was uncertain. Many hold he was killed in the Castle of Hume, either by the intelligence between the English and the Lord Humes kinted, or out of fear (for they were at the slaughter of the Kings Father and the most violent in that fight) or of hopes of great fortunes, which would follow innovations, and the confusion of the State, being men who liv'd best in a troubl'd Commonwealth and upon the Borders.

One Carra follower of the Lord Humes, that fame night the Battail was fought, thrust the Abbot of Kelfo out of his Abbacy : which he never durst attempt the King being alive. Another, David Carbreath in the time of John the Governour vaunted that however John wronged the Humes, he was one of fix who had abated the insolency of King James, and brought him to know he was a Mortal. To these is added, that the Governour John, not long hereafter, cut off the heads of the Lord Hume, and his Brother without any known great cause. The Common people (ever more addicted to Superstition than verity) believed he was living, and had passed over the Seas, and according to his promise visited the holy Sepulchre in Palestine. Therefor his other offences and the bearing of Arms against his Father, in prayers and Pennance he spent the remainder of His tedious daies.

That he would return again when he found opportunity, and the necessity of Europe required him. This report was of as great truth, as that which the Burgundians have of the Return of their Duke Charles after the Battel of Nancy, most of them believing he escaped from the conslict. He was lost the twenty and five year of his Reign, the thirty and

ninth of his age the ninth of September 1, 13.

This King was of a vigorous body, his stature being neither too tall nor too low, of a pleasant countenance, of a pregnant wit; but by the faults of the times in which he lived, not polished with Letters. He excelled in horse-man-

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thip, fencing and thooting. By much watching, flender diet, and use, he was enabled to endure all extremities of weather. scarcity or want of rest, with good health of body.

He was just in giving judgement, in punishing malefactors severe, yet tractable and moderate. With the peril of some few he restrained vices and rather shook the Sword than struck with it. He knew there were some things, though Princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was calle of accels. most courteous in speech, and meek in answering every man. He was so far from being over taken with anger or other violent perturbations, that he was never observed to have given an evil or disobliging word to any, or that the colour of his face changed by any offence offered him, or informations given him, relying without passion upon his own magnanimity,

He was of a free and liberal disposition, far from any ostentation. As he understood well the Art of giving, so to acquire and purchase he was not sufficient of himself, but made use of men who drew more hatred upon their own

heads, than moneys into their Princes coffers.

Though he delighted more in War than the Arts, he was a great admirer and advancer of learned men. William Elphinstown Bishop of Aberdeen builded by his Liberality the College of Aberdeen, and named it The Kings College, by reason of those Privileges and Rents the King bestowed upon it.

His Generofity did shew it self in not delivering of Perkin Warbeck; he trusted much, and had great confidence in his Nobility, and governed by love not by fear his peo-

It is no wonder amidft so much worth, that some humane frailty, and some according discord be found. day so bright and fair, which one moment or other looketh not pale, and remaineth not with some dampish shadow of discoloured Clouds. He was somwhat wedded to his own humours, opiniative and rash; Actions of rashness and timerity, even although they may have an happy event, being never praise worthy in a Prince. He was so infected with that illustrious crime which the Ambitious take for virtue, desire of Fame, that he preferred it to his own life, and the peace of his Subjects.

He so affected popularity, and endeavoured to purchase the love of his people, by Largeffes, Banquetting, and other Magnificence, diving in debt, that by those Subsidies and excessive exactions which of necessity he should have been constrained to have levied and squeized from the people, longer life had made him lose all that favor and love he had so painfully purchased, that death seemed to have come to him wi-The

shedly and in good time.

The wedding of others Quarrels, especially of the French, seemeth in him inexcusable; a wise Prince should be slow and loath to engage himself in a war, although he hath sufferred some wrong. He should consider that of all humane actions and hazards, there is not one of which the precipitation is so dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a war. Neither in humane affairs should there more depths be sounded nor hidden passages searched and pryed into than in this. He should remember that besides the sad necessity which is inseparable from the most innocent war (the wasting and destroying of the goods and lives of much people) there is nothing of which the Revolutions and Changes are more inconstant, and the conclusions and ends more uncertain.

The Sea is not more treacherous, false and deceiving, nor changeth not more swiftly her calms into storms than wars and the fortune of arms do, the event and success belying the beginning. It is not enough that a Prince know a war which he undertaketh to be just, but he should consider also if it be necessary, and if it be profitable, and conduce to the State

which he governeth.

As men of strong and healthful bodies follow ordinarily delight in their youth, he was amourously carryed away. He confined the Earl of Angus in the Isle of Arran, for taking Jane Kennedy a Daughter of the Earl of Cassilles outlof Galloway, a fair and noble Lady, of whom he became enamoured as he went in his pilgrimage to St. Minians. In his last expedition the Lady Foord was thought to have hindered the progress of his arms, and hasten'd the success of the battel.

Though virtue be sometimes unfortunate, yet is it ever in an high esteem in the memories of men: such a desire remained of him in the hearts of his people after his loss, that the like was not of any King before him; Princes who are out of this life being onely the Delights and Darlings of a people. Anne the French Queen not many dayes out-lived the rumour of his death. He serves for an example of the frailty of great men on the Theatre of this world, and of the incon-

ftancy of all Sub-Lunary things.

He had children, James and Arthur who dyed Infants, James who succeeded him, Alexander born after his death who dyed young; Alexander a natural son, Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrews, so much admired and courted by Erasmus; Margarite of a Daughter of the Lord Drummonds, maried to the Earl of Huntley, whose mother had been contracted to the King, and taken away (to his great regret) by those who governed the State, that he should not follow the example of King Robert his Predecessour, who maryed a Lady of that Family; James Earl of Murray.

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## THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE & REIGN Iames the Fift,

King of Scotland.



He fatal accidentand over throw of the King, and Flower of the Nobility of Scotland at Flowden filled the remnant of the State with great forrow, but with greater amazement and perplexity: for by this great change they expected no less than the progress and advancement of the Victors Arms and Fortune, and feared the con-

quest, servirude and desolation of the whole Kingdom. The rigorous feason of the year being spent in mourning and performing of last duties to the dead for their lost kinsmen and friends; and the gathering together the floating Ribbs and dispersed plancks of this Ship-wrack, the Peers assembled at Sterlin, where being, applying them.

selves to set their confuons in order, and determine on the Remedies of their present evils, the lively pourtraid of their Calamities did represent it self to the full view. head and fairest parts which Majesty, Authority, Direction, Wisdom had made eminent, were cut away, some turbulent Church-men, Orphan Noblemen, and timorous Citizens, fill their vacant places: and many who needed directions themselves, were placed to direct and guide the Helm of State; such miseries being alwaies incident to a people, where the Father of the Countrey is taken away, and the Successor is of under age. In this Maze of perplexity to diloblige themselves of their greatest duty, and give satisfaction to the most and best, the lawful Successour and Heir JAMES the Prince is fet on the Throne and Crowned, being at that time one year five moneths and ten daies of age. and the hundreth and fifth King of Scotland. The Last Will and Testament which the late King had left before his expedition, being publickly feen and approved, the Queen challenges the Protection of the Realm and Tutelage of her Son. as disposed unto her so long as she continued a Widdow and followed the Counfel and advise of the Chancellour of the Realm, and some other grave Counsellours, and she obtained it: as well out of a Religion they had to fulfill the will of their deceased Soveraign, as to shun and be freed of the imminent arms and imminent danger of her Brother the King of England. Being established in the Government, and having from all that respect, reverence and observance which belong to such a Princes, she sent Letters to the King of England; that having compassion upon the tears and prayers of a Widdow, of his Sifter, of an Orphan, of his Nephew, he would not only cease from following the Warre upon Scotland (then at war with it felf and many waies divided) but ennobled by courage and goodness, be a defence unto her and the infant her Son against all injuries to be offered them by Forrainers abroad or any of the factious Nobility, who would oppose themselves against her at home. To which King Henry answered, That with the Peaceable he would entertain Peace, and with the froward and turbulent war; if the Scots would live in Peace they should have it for his part, but if they would rather fight, he was not to That he husband had faln by his own indisrefuse them. creet rashness, and foolish kindness to France, that he regretted his death as his Ally, and should be willing to prohibite all hosfility against the Countrey of Scotland during the minority of her Son, for a remedy of present evils, one years Truce and a day longer was yielded unto; in which time he had leasure to prosecute his designs against France, without

fear of being disturbed or diverted by the incursions and in

roads of the Scots upon his borders.

The Government of a woman and a child over a people ever in motion, mutinous and delighting in Changes, could not long subsist firm, nor continue after one fashion. first shake and disorders of the Kingdom arose, and was occassioned by the ambition and avarice of the Church-men the Moth-worms of State) being seconded by the factious Nobles and Male-contents; and it was the distribution of the Offices, Places, Benefices, vacant by the deaths of those flain in the late Battel. Andrew Forman Arch-Bilhop of Bur. ges, Bishop of Murray, and Legate to the Pope Julius, Gaven Dowglass Bishop of Dunkell, Uncle to the Earl of Anguis, John Hepburn Priour of St. Andrews, contend all three for the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews. Gaven Dowglass was presented to it by the Queen, Andrew Forman by the Pope, John Hepburn was choien by the Chapter his Canons; and fundry of the Nobility favoured his election, they faid also the place whilst it was vacant belonged unto him: and his Party was fo strong that none dared publish the Popes Bull in favour of Andrew Forman for many daies. Till Alexander Lord Hume then Chamberlain and Warden of the East Marches, won by many promifes, and the Abbacy of coldingham engaged and presently given in hand to his younger Brother David, in despight of the opposition of the Lord Haylles and the faction of the Hepburns, then seditious and powerful, well backed by his Friends, Vassals, Adherents all in Arms, caused publish and proclaim it at the Market cross of Edinburgh. which action first incensed the Priour to plot mischief against the family of the Humes. William Elphinsto un Bishop of Aberdeen by many of the Clergy and some of the Nobility had been defired to accept this Dignity, but he refused it, being now weary of earthly greatness, and making for another world, for at this time at Edinburgh he left this.

As ordinately when one faction is neer extinguished, the remnant subdivideth, after these jars of the Church men, which were cherished by the Nobility, the Nobles began to jar among themselves, and grudge at others preferments. Alexander Lord Gordon ruled and commanded the Countreys north-ward the River of Forth, as Alexander Lord Hume ufurped almost a royal Authority, and commanded over the Countreys on South-side of the Forth, the Earl of Angusts

went about a fairer couquest.

James Earl of Arran Lord Hamiltown being neerest in blood to the King, could not but with indignation look upon the undeserved greatness of these Usurpers, under the shadow of this Olygarchy, turbulent, evill disposed, and men abhorring

horring quietness ravaged the Countrey and did what they

pleased.

Amidst these confusions the Queen in April brought forth the posthumouschild in the Cattle of Sterlin, whom the Bishop of Cathness, Abbot of Dumfermlin, and the Arch-Dean of St. Andrews baptized and named Alexander. After the was recovered and had required her wonted strength of body. the found the authority of her place was turned weak, and that she enjoyed nothing but the name of Governing, the people delighting to live rather without rule and in all diforders than to be subject to the obedience of a Woman though a Queen. After great deliberation and many essays in vain to curb their insolency and vindicate her authority from their contempt, as alfo to fave her fon from the dangers of an infulting Nobility, and fettle her estate, she resolved to match with some Nobleman eminent in power and worth, who could and would protect her and hers in greatest extremities. Amongst the choise of the young Noblemen of scotland for a long succession of renowned Auncestors, comelyness of person, noble conversation, prudence in affairs of State, being lovely, courteous, liberal wife, none was comparable to the Earl of Anguis; him she determines to make Partner of her Royal Bed and Fortunes; and as ordinarily in matters of love it falleth out, by the impatience of delay, without acquainting her Brother the King of England, or the Nobles of the Kingdom with her design, she afterwards marryeth him, transferring, if she could, the whole weight of the Kingdom and the rains of the Government of the State into his hands, having no more freedom in her own determinations.

No sooner was this revealed to the World, when the Nobility and Gentry divided into two Factions, one adhering to the Dowglass, in whom kindred, friendship long observance had bred hopes of benefit and preferment; another of such whom envy of his greatness and advancement had made hungrey of change. The first would have the Government continued in the Queens person and Her husbands: because hereby the Realm should still have peace with England, which at that time was the most necessary point to be respected. The adverse party, of which the Lord Chamberlain was the principal, who was a man both in Power, Parentage, Riches equal, if not beyond, to many of the great men of the Countrey, importuned the election of a new Governour and Protectour of the young King. Queen loofing by her marriage both the tutelage of her Son and the Government, should not take it to heart that another were chosen and put in her place.

Her

## Of JAMES the fift.

Her marrying the Earl of Angus had made him too great already to be a Subject; the continuing of her in Authority would promote him to the greatness of a Prince. Who should be Governour, is upon both sides long and coutentioully argued. Many gave their voices for the Earl of Arran. as being neer in blood to the King, and a man affecting peace more than others, and every way sufficient for such a Charge. The Chamberlain had determined of another, and told it was a wrong to bar from so high an honour a man of the Masculine line in blood to the King, and prefer one of the feminine. John Duke of Albany, son to Alexander Duke of Albany, the Brother of King James the third, before all others by all reason should be preferred to the Government. Being demanded if he would the first, to give example to others, fet his hand to this election, he without pawfing performed it, with a protestation, that though the rest of the Nobility opposed it, as to his comming into Scotland to accept the Government, he alone would go to France, charge him with it, behis Convoy hither, and maintain his Ti-

This he was thought to have done, for that despairing to reach and obtain this Dignity himself, out of emulation he laid a design that never any other of the Nobles of the Kingdom should reach it: affecting rather to give a stranger the place than a Competitor, bringing in the French to equal the ballance as principal, himself only as accessory, nothing doubting of a chief place in State, as well for his forwardness in this election, as for the necessity of his Service which the French could not well want, and should never be lacking. He feared also if the faction of the Dowglasses prevail'd, the greatness of the Earl of Angus would be an umbrage to his, and lessen and impair it; Their Lands and Fortunes lying neer to other, as that the Queen by her power in England would

cross his fairest projects.

The King of England had fent a Letter to the Lords of scotland (as he had done to the French King for that same effect) remonstrating how dangerous it was for the State of scotland, and young King, if they should make choise of the

Duke of Albany.

Notwithstanding of all which through ambition, malice, envy of others, discords amongst themselves, they made choise of this Gentleman, a stranger by his education and birth, ignerant of the nature and manners of the scots: whose Father was banished for Treason against his Brother, and dyed unrestored. One altogether devoted to the French King, and an enemy to the English; not earing to keep the Countrey of Scotland in Warrs and Troubles, so he might defend

defend the French Nation, by making the Scots fight their battels.

After many private Letters from his Friends in Scotland (especially from the Chamberlain) inviting him to come home and accept his new dignity, the Duke at last is re. quired by the State, and Lyon King of Arms is directed to him, to acquaint him with their proceedings, and make him forward on his way. He to endear his comming and make himself the more defired of the People, excusing his stay for a while (which he laid upon the Treaty of Peace. which was then to be agreed upon between England and France, by the marriage of Lovys the French King with Mary the youngest Sister of Henry King of England, which required his presence ) sendeth home the King of Arms with Letters from the French King, with Sir Anthony Darcea le Sieur de la Beautie. This man propounded certain conditions which the Duke required. What should be the form of his Government, his Guards, what Castles should be delivered to him for his Garrisons; the restoring his patrimony and Fathers dignities to him. Which particularities being condescended unto, the Castle of Dumbar was instantly delivered to la Beantie to be kept for a French Garrison at the Dukes comming: and Sir Patrick Hamilton, Brother to the Earl of Arran, James Oguilbuy Abbot of Arbroth with the King of Arms, were fent back again to France. After their arrival the Duke of Albany furnished with all necessaries by the French King with eight well rigged Ships took the Seas, and in the moneth of May arrived on the West coasts of scotland, from whence with a great retinue of the Nobles and Barons of the Countrey by easie journeys, the Queen meeting him, he came to the Town of Edinburgh: In the Parlament which had been prorogued for his comming, the Duke accepted the Government, and gave his oath of fidelity to the King and Countrey: and the three Estates gave their oath of obedience to him, and both fwore in the administration of Justice, neither should be deficient to others. Here is he restored to all his Fathers inheritance, titles and honours. Being declared Duke of Albany, Earl of March, and Governour of the Kingdom till the Kings full maturity. Many Laws are made for the weal of the Kingdom, and to gratifie his Linnage, James the naturall Sonne of James the fourth is created Earl of Murray.

At the presence of this new Governour the face of the State turned more beautiful, and the Court more Royall, oppression is restrained, justice sincerely executed, the Court is frequented with good and virtuous men, Malefactours and naughty persons banish themselves. He maketh a progress to all the notable Towns of the Kingdom, seeing crimes pu-

nished

nished and faults amended. Being a Stranger and not throughly acquainted with the municipal Statutes and particular practiles of the Countrey, in matters great and of importance he proceedeth by the instructions and informations of some choice men of the Nation it felf. Especially fince he was not infinite to listen to the advice of every one, he gave himself to hearken and follow the opinion and counfell of John Hepburn Priour of St. Andrews: whose judgement in his greatest difficulties he receives as an Oracle. This man being of a subtle wind, malitious, crafty, rich and endued with fome Courtly eloquence, by a counterfeit Pretence of knowledge of the affairs of the Kingdom and State (neither in somethings did he err) at first being very familiar with the Duke and in a little time after, by bribing secretly some of his choise Servants, turned his only Privado, and almost possessed alone his judgement and ear. He informed him of the strength and Riches of the Countrey, of the nathre of the people, manner of their Lawes, revealed to him many secrets of the Government. He gave him a Catalogue of the whole deadly fewds and divisions amongst the Noble men and Gentry, opening unto him which were inveterate, and had long continued, and which were fresh, upon what accidents they had their beginnings. How in profecuting Revenge in them they cared not how innocent any man was if he were of the Name and Alliance, but rather thought the more innocent any was the more it testified their spight which they defired to manifelt by taking him away. He shewed him what factions were in the Kingdom, who sway'd them, and were the heads. He told him the Scots were a vtolent fierce people, mutinously proud, and knew not how to obey without the Sword were drawn. That they were never absolutely governed by their own Kings, themselves, far less would they be ruled by him who was but a Governour, and half a Stranger. King James the first they had killed, they had made a League against King James the second, in open Battel they had overthrown King James the third, and the last King was by best judgements thought to have been fecretly taken away: here (calling to mind the proclaiming of the Arch bishop Andrew Formans Bull) he omitted nothing could derogate to the Chamberlains reputation and honour, and an evil opinion of him in the Governour.

He instructed him how the great Houses of Scotland were so joined and linkt together, by kinred, alliances, Bonds of service or Homage, that no Gentleman of any quality, although a Malesactor and a guilty person, could be presented to justice without some stir, commotion, tumult of the Grandees and their sactions friends: Amidst so many strong

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parties and confederate male-contents, the Governor by the power of the scots themselves, and his own Kindred, Friends and Followers were not powerful enough tasely to administer justice: for which cause the King of France should be implored to send hither competent forces to quell the insolencies and shake the pride of the sactious Nobies. The heads of the sactions which had a principal sway in the Kingdom at that time would either be cut off, or kept under, but with such cunning and dexterity that it should not be perceived, nor found out; that many were aimed at and interested when some sew did suffer and sall. That for the present there were three heads to be looked unto as teared and like to bring Novations in the State, being men able to change the present Government.

The Earl of Angus, a man in the prime of his youth, of high flying thoughts by his Alliance with the King of England, and that estimation the people conceived of him by the demerits of his Ancesters, and the singular love the Subjects bare him, carryed a mind above the fortune of a private man, and seemed not born to live a subjects life, each action of his bearing in it majesty and magnificence, he had power to hurt

if he would hurt.

The Lord Chamberlain, a man unpolisht, stubbornly stout, hazardous, mighty in riches and power, and consequently proud, of a working mind and vehementSpirit, whom time and experience had hardned by great exployts and most dangerous actions, who had the malice to be a Spectator of the discomfiture of his Prince and Countrymen at Flowden, was likely to attend the opportunity of traverses and changes.

The third was the Arch Bishop Andrew Forman, once Secretary to the Pope, who though he was not of any Noble Stem nor descent of blood, nor for his Followers, Friends, and Adherents much to be taken notice of or teared, yet considering him as his Legateship, pluralty of benefices, many pensions from Princes, had guilded him over, and ballancing him by his present treasure, he could make a weak party strong, and add weight to what side soever he inclined. He was therefore with piercing eyes to be lookt into, and all his actions and waies to be observed.

The Governour gave not great attention to what the Priour had instructed against the Arch-Bishop, having before had some inkling of the rancor, grudge and enmitte between them. And he was conscious the Arch-Bishops riches were above envy; he having been ever more solicitous magnificently to spend what he had acquired than hoord up. Neither did he bestow so much upon any of his Countreymen, as he did upon the French, the Friends and Servants of the

Gover-

Governour. He knew he was also so circumspect as not to adhere to any of the factions of the time, in a neutrality indifferently and friendly entertaining all his Compatriots.

Nor was he much moved at his information concerning the Earl of Angus, finding him a man peaceable, courteous to all and affable; and though of aspiring thoughts, carryed often away with his private delights and Courtly pleasures.

But what the Priour informed against the Lord Chamber. lain he deeply ingraved in his memory, and ever after his countenance bewrayed certain flaws of ill concealed discontent: Neither did he thereafter shew him wounted favours, which the Chamberlain observing and guesting at the change of the Governors mind towards him by more than ordinary evidences and figns: He having been the onely man who wrought his advancement and comming to Scotland, his deferts now either forgot or ungratefully remembred, full of grief and disdain, retired from the Court to his own Castles. where, when he had rested a while, half astonished to see his hopes fo frustrate, he taketh new resolutions and determinations to play the Governour double or quite. Hereafter he leaveth no meanes untryed to become entire with the Queen and her Husband, and by observance and frequent meeting with them, he wrought himself not onely to be imbraced as their Friend, but their Counsellor, and one in whom they had great confidence. He many times with them deplored the publick calamity, when his own particular only stong him, accusing himself of his too much forwardness in calling home a man born an exile, whose father dyed banish'd for his ambition, and had effeyed to take the Crown from his eldeft Brother. Sith this man was the neerest of bloud to succeed who could not perceive his last work would be the making away the innocent child, his Pupil, to ascend the Royal Throne himself; in the height of malice accomplishing what his Father out of a desire to rule did project. By his tender years the King could not prevent his danger, his Mother might anticipate it that new necessities requir'd new remedys only one postern gate remained yet open, which was that the Queen would transport her Son to England.

When this plot was whisper'd to the Governor, who wanted not his Emissaries among the Queens attendants, it was no sooner reveal'd than believ'd, and no sooner believ'd, when (being a man who used celerity in all his actions) with as many men as hast could suffer him to gather, forthwith marched from Edinburgh to Sterlin, there unawares he surprized the Castle, and in it the Queen with her two Sons. A Council being assembled, the King with his brother Alexander are sequestred from their Mother, and trusted to the custody of sour Lords, who by turns interchangeably should attend the two Princes and have a care of their education. That no violence should be offered them, certain Gentlemen of the French and Scots are appointed still to wait on and guard them; from this suspicion the seeds of enmity began to be sown between the Queen and the Governor, which neither time nor wisdom

thereafter could take away and root out.

Amidst this storm of Court, the Lord Chamberlain brought to a new traverse of his thoughts with his Brother Mr. William Hume fly towards England; the Queen with her Husband and Sir Goorge Domglas his Brother with an unexpected suddeness hast to Tantallon, and from thence to Bermick, from which they had a convoy to the Nunnery of Colstream: Here they attended advertisment from the King of England what course to follow and know his pleasure. He recommended them to the Protection and care of the Lord Dacres, and affigned the Castle of Harbottle in Northumberland for his Sisters residence during her aboad in these Northern parts, and the troubles of Scotland.

The Governor not a little perplexed at the flight and efcape of those Conspiratours, sendeth Embassadors to the Court of England to clear himself to the King of what might be furmifed against him concerning these new strangers come to his Country. He had done nothing which should have offended the Queen, made her afraid, or to entertain or harbour a finister thought of his proceedings. Neither did he intend any thing against these had followed and accompanyed her, which should have moved them to leave their Country; unto whom if they pleased to return they should be welcom, enjoy their wonted freedom, and keep peaceably what they had posse sled. If they were conscious to themselves of any misdemeanor he would not be too precise in the search of it. He also trafficked by the friends of those who favored the Dowglasses and Humes to perswade them to a Return, giving them fair promises of obtaining what they should demand. Till at last he removed them to bow and yield to his desires. The fugitive Gentlemen returnd; but the Queen being with child, and near the time of her delivery, was necofficated to stay still, till at Harbottle Castle she brought forth her daughter Margarite, after Grand-mother to Iames King of Britain. So foon as the was able to endure travel, and be transported, King Henry with an honourable retinue brought her to his Court, where she was by him and his Sister Mary (late Queen of France) welcomed. In May she made her progress through London to Baynards Castle, and from thence to Greenwich.

The Contrivers of the exploit of transporting the King to

England being within the Country, and, as it were, secure, the Governor, whose head was filled with suspitions, not thinking himself bound by promises, will have them give a reckoning of their enterprize and flight into England. Against some he hath clear proofs, fair and manifest evidences; against o. ther bare furmites and naked suspitions, for they had not left the Gountry, nor had they been partakers of the Queens for. tunes. Here with an unexspected suddenness, M. Gaven Dowglas Uncle to the Earl of Angus, Bishop of Dunkel, Mr. Patrick Pan. ther Secretary to the late King, were committed. Mr. Gaven in the Castle of St. Andrews, Mr. Patrick in Garvet Castle. The Lord Drummond grand. Father to the Earl of Angus, having beaten a LyoniHerault, who too imperiously had given a charge to answer to such things should be objected against him, was imprisoned in the Castle of Blackness. Alexander Lord Hume being charged to answer for his actions and proceedings, and not appearing, was denounced Rebel, his moveables seised on and brought to the Exchequer. Stir'dup and irritated by this outrage, he maketh Roads upon the neighbour bounds, plundereth Dumbar which was the Governors chief refort, and to revenge his wrongs, fetteth on work the Robbers on the borders. To repress and bridle this ravaging, the Governor in person with a thousand hardy Souldiers marcheth to the Borders, directeth some companies to find out the Lord Hume; but he, either dismaid at the worth and fortune of the Governor, or broken and bowing under the burthen of his own mileries, commeth to the Go. vernor and submitted his life and estate to his faith and clemency: brought to Edinburgh, he is trusted to the custody of James Earl of Arran the Husband of his Sifter, with threatnings under pain of High Treason, that he should not part with him, nor fuffer him to escape. The Lord Hume had not long staid in the Castle of Edinburgh, when with glosses of probalityes of changes casual, and such as might fall forth, he moved the Earl of Arran to be of his Mind, and brought him to conspire against the Governor, and hazard to put him. felf in his place of State. He himself was the only man who had brought in the Governor, and he knew well how to put him out, if the Earl would be of the Perty, and by his negligence not reject a Supream honor thrown in his arms. He is begun already not to be lov'd, if he was not already hated by the fub. jects by his imperious proceedings. If the King of England could find fome few Noblemen to make head against him, he would constrain him to leave the Country. The Earl of Arran was neerest heir to the King, it was more reason he should be fecond in the Kingdom than John, who though descended of a brother, yet a banisht man, and a stranger to the scots Nation.

tion, with whom they had not so much as intercourse and samiliarity of language. After many such like inducements, the Prisoner took away his Keeper with him to the South parts of the Country: and both by Letters to their Familiars, Kinred, and acquaintance, and private meetings with other Noble. men strove to make strong and increase their faction.

In the beginning of the Spring Iohn Stuart Earl of Lennox, the Sifters son of the Earl of Arran, listed himself in the party of the conspiring Lords, and with a number of his Friends and Followers invested the Castle of Glasgow; which if they could have kept, had been a great advancement to their intentions. But the Governor gathering an Army of as many as hast would suffer him to assemble, the Defenders not being strong enough to refist him, recovered the Castle with small loss of his men. After which in indignation he marched to throw down the Castle of Hamilton; here victorious anger was conquer'd by pitty and compassion: for the old Countes of Arran being at that time there relident (who was daughter to King lames the second, Sifter to King lames the third, mother to the Earl of Arran, Grand-mother to the Earl of Lennox, Aunt to the Governour) a Lady venerable for years and virtues, with tears of affection and forrow falling down at the Governors feet, and received by him with great commiseration in a merciful manner, not only preserv'd the Castle, but by the means of the Arch-bishop Andrew Forman, entered into a Treaty for peace to her Son, and the Earl of Lennox, And in November the two Earls comming to Edenburgh by the means of this Arch-Bishop were reconciled with the Governor. About this time (his Mother being far from him to difcharge the last duties of affection towards him ) Alexander Duke of Roth ay, brother to the King, a child to timiration beautiful and Delightful, dyed at Sterlin, and was buryed in the Abby Church of Cambuskenneth.

The term of Peace between the two Kingdomes being almost expir'd, and both having a desire to continue it, the English sent their Commissioners to Coldingham, to whom the Duke, then resident at Dumbar, sent Monsseur du Plains Embassador for the French King, Sir William Scot of Balweary, and Gaven Dumbar Arch-Dean of Saint Andrews. These after some altercation concerning the Scottish Fugitives, conclude a Peace between the Nations from the midst of Ianuary till the feast of Whissuntide after. The English comprehended in the Articles the Earl of Anguss, the Lord Hume, and the rest of the Queens strayed Faction, with all their Kinsmen, Clients and Followers. The Lord Hume was received again into the Governours savor, with condition that if he after break his promises and oaths, his old saults should be remembred

and joined to his new. Master Gaven Dowglass and Mr. Patrick Panther were set at Liberty, The Lord Drummond who had been forfeited was again restored, the Earl of Angus with these who had followed him with many ceremonies, and great store of Friendship, was welcomed again to the Court.

The Disorders of the Kingdom called a Parlament, in which many acts were made to restrain and keep under bold and wicked men, and preserve the peace of the Kingdom. In this Parlament it was Ordained, the Kings Brother Alexander being deceated, that the Governour should be reputed second person of the Realm, and next heir to the Crown. Notwithstanding of the claim made by Alexander Stuart the elder brother of the Governour, who was begotten on a Daughter of the Earl of Orkenay, to whom the Duke of Albany their Father had been lawfully joined in marriage before his coming to France, and thus before the marrying of the Earl of Bulloignes daughter the Mother of John the Go. vernour, upon which ground Alexander had great reason to make his claim and protestation as heir to his Father. Notwithstanding of his challenge and bravado, Alexander being more fit for a Cowl than a Crown, in open Parlament gave over all title he had to the Crown in his brothers favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawfull Succesfion they turned him Priest, being made Bishop of Aturray, and Abbot of Skoon.

A truce being sincerely kept with England, sumults within the Countrey appealed, particular deadly fewds and jarres of private persons either curbed or smotheredup, the Governour giveth himself some weeks to his Courtly recreations at Fanlk-land, with what passime soever he be delighted, or beguile the hours all the day long, in the night he is often haunted by his old familiar the Priour of St. Andrews, whom ambition, spight, malice never suffered to take any rest.

This man put in the Governours head and made him believe, that his endeavours and pains heretofore would prove but vain in fettling the Government, and that the peace of the Kingdom should never be lasting, firm and permanent, if so dangerous a Subject as the Lord Chamberlain remained alive: whom neither rewards could soften, nor honours and preferment oblige and make constant. How many times had he been pardoned? How often and without a cause had he returned again to his former Conspiracies? Should the Governour of his own free-will or of necessity be moved to return to France, what would not the boldness of this man attempt in his absence, which his authority and presence could never curb and keep within compass? the life of this

man would be the death and total ruin of the Peace of the concord and harmony of the State, bring forth nothing but dangerous and wicked effects; the violence of ambition having pulled him from his own judgement. Should he be challenged and put to a tryal of his Peers, He could not should the blow of Justice, the cry of his oppression and wrongs having reached heaven? A member so often in vain

cured and still gangrened should be cut off.

The Governour, whose Brains the Priour had now embrued with jealousies, thought it no great matter upon the intormations he had received to put the Chamberlain to a Tryal; for if he proved not guilty, it would be but to leave him in that state and case he was found in; and calumnies though they do not burn yet black. Being come to Edinburgh he appointed a convention of the Nobility, all which time he earnestly trafficked with the Friends of the Lord Chamberlain that he should not be absent, the matters to be determined in Counsel concerning him nearly, and he had need of his advice and counsel.

The Court and City being full of whisperings and expectation of some sudden change, many dist wadeth the Chamberlain from appearing, if he appeared, that he would leave his Brother Master William (a man equal in judgement and courage to himself) behind. He trained into talse hopes by the blandishments of the Governour towards his friends and inveigled by presumption, with his Brother, and (Sir Andrew called by the Countrey Lord) David Car of Farnehast commeth to Court, where they were with many ceremonies welcomed by the Governour, with more than ordinary fayours entertained, and shortly after all three imprisoned, produced in judgment to answer to such things as should be objected against them according to the Lawes of the Kingdom, and submitted to the Sentence of a Jury. crime was laid to their charge, James Earlot Murray thenatural Son of the late King, accused the Chamberlain of the death of his Father: who by many witnesles was proved alive, and seen to come from the Battel of Flowden: This by pregnant evidences not being proved, he was indicted of divers other points of Treason, and his private faults are found out and laid against him: they renew the memory of the late stirs of State and these disorders, of which he was either the Author or accessary to them. He had favoured and maintained the Factions, Thefts and Robberies of wicked Malefactours on the Borders: he had not honourably nor honeftly carryed himself at the Battel of Flowden, performing neither the duty of a Souldier nor Commander. He had suffered the English to repair and of new fortifie the Castle of Norham

Norham, which without either trouble to himself or danger of his Friends, he might have hindred. Of every of which points and particularities he not clearly justifying himself, the Judges prepared and directed by the Governor (whom they record to have given information of a hainous crime comitted by the Chamberlain and his brother, for the odiousness of it not to be revealed to the people) pronounce him and his Brother guilty, and condemn them to have their Heads cut off. The day following the sentence was put in execution, and their heads fixt on the most eminent part of the Town of Edenburgh. David Car of Farnhaft, either by the Jury, being declared not guilty (as some have recorded) or by the Corrupting of his Keepers (as others) or by the permission of the Governor, escap'd this danger; which brought the People to believe the Chamberlain was by his means en. trapped, To finck whom he put himself in hizzard of drown.

ing.

This Calamity of the Family of the Humes, being so antient, potent and couragious, bred terrour and aftonishment in many of the other Noblemen, of the Kingdom, and estranged their Hearts from the Governour; his ears began to be after attentive to every rumour, and his eyes pryed into each accident; at lift, as if he were wearyed with wrastling with the many disorders, and cumbersome Factions of the Countrey, he fought how by some fair way he might for a while return to France. Embassadours being sent from King Francis to Scotland to renew the antient League between the two Nations, when the Nobles affembled to make choice of the man on whom they should transfer the honour of the accomplishment of so solem an action and pass to France, the Governour carryed the matter lo by means of the French, that it was conferred on himself, but with this condition (to entertain them with hopes of his Return) that he should not stay above fix Moneths out of the Countrey, Having obtained this privileged absence of them, his next care was to preserve the State from any alterations till his Return, and to find the Government as he left it. Hereupon to preserve the Person of the King, he is conveyed from Sterlin to the Castle of Edinburgh, and trusted to the custody of the Earl of Marshall, the Lords Ruthen and Borthick, two of which should be alwaies resident with him, and accompany and affift the Lord Areskin his constant and unremovable Guardian. For the Government of the State he leaveth seaven Deputies in his Place, The Earl of Arran, Angus, Huntley, Arguyl, the Arch-Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; to these is adjoined Sir Anthony Darcey le Sieur de la Beautie, whom he had made Captain of Dumbar, and promoted to be in the Lord Humes Place,

Warden of the East Marches, keeping the daies of Truce and Justice Courts. This was the man to whom the entire Conduct of all the Governours affairs was intrusted, and who should give him advertisement of what did pass in Scotland, during his aboad in France. That no discord should arise amongst men equal in places and authority (the ordinary occasion of division) several shires which they should govern to every one of them are alloted. To Sir Anthony Darcey was destinated the Government of the Mers and Lothian; to the other their shires were appointed as the convenience of their dwelling places, Friends and Kinred did afford them. Under pretexts and fair colours of honour, and as to pass the time, and be trained in French Civility, also for the greater magnificency, the Governour took in his company the Earl of Lennox, the Lord Gordon, Masters of Glencarn and Arran. other young Lords; who in effect were so many Hostages, that no stir by their Parents, Kinred, Friends, should be raifed during his absence. Helikewise under dark Shadows and far fought pretences committed to fuch Castles as were garri. foned with French Souldiers, as Dumbarton, Dumbar, Garnet, certain Barons of the South and West Countreys, who wanted nothing but liberty, not for any thing they had done. but what they might do the Governour being out of the Kingdom. Matters brought to fuch a pass as his best Politicians could devise, accompanied with Master Gaven Dow. glas Bishop of Dunkell, and Master Patrick Panther, Secretary to the late King, men whom he feared to leave behind him. and entertained (though he knew they loved him not) as his bosome friends, in June at Dumbartoun he took Shipping.

Queen Margarite after the had remained a year in England, understanding by Letters the Governour had taken the Seas. and was on his way towards France, honourably dismissed by her Brother came to Scotland. At Berwick she was received by her Husband the Earl of Anguis; but he was not accepted with the favours he was wont; for that plague of too much love (jealousie) had infected her, having gotten some inkling that he delighted in a free bed, and during the time of her aboad in England had entertained a Mistress in Dowglas-dale, an injury beyond degree of Reconcilement, after which she began to disdain him, and seek how she might be devorced from him. Though whilft the King was kept in the castle of Edenburgh all access unto him was refused her, when he was transported to the Castle of Craigmillar, out of a suspition and rumour the Plague had infested Edenburgh, by the courtefie of the Lord Areskin, she had liberty to vesset him, But her frequent haunting him out of too much motherly kindness, breeding a sufpition in his Guardians, that, as had once before been prattifed

by a Queen in Scotland, She had an intention to have Stoln him away and send him to his Uncle, restrained her longer access to him, and procured his return back again to the Castle of Edinburgh.

Sir Anthony Darcey having by his vigilancy, pains, courage, given many proofs of his worth in detence of the Borders, and administration of Justice in those shires he governed; The other Governours, often difagreeing amongst them folys, either out of Love of reft, and to be vacant from bufinels, or out of malice to procure him greater hatred, declare him absolute Deputy: and they gave their promises to second him in way of Justice: and here he found the difference between extreams and mediocrities. Many disdained a Stranger should be in that place, so many brave men of their Nation neglected. A quarrel at that time, either true and reall, or (as others have recorded) altogether forged and contriv'd to draw the Deputy in a Danger, arising between the Stewards of the Laird of Langtonn, and one of his Uncles, who by the power and means of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, whole Sister was his wife, had thrust out and ejected the young heir and them of their own Caltle of Langtonn , and kept it by force. The Depury accompanyed with certain Lords of the Borders, and some French men his own Domefficks came to the Town of Dunce, to hold a Justice Court concerning this Riot. The Humes, who thought nothing juster than revenge, nor nobler than the effects of anger, having Iwom a requirat of their Chiefs wrong, and to pay the Governour home when occasion should be offered, by the counfel and for wardness of Sir David Hume, lay an ambulh, and ly in wait for the Deputy; the Plot not failing, they invade him at fuch a diffadvantage, that fome of his Servants killed, he was confrained to feek an escape by the swiftness of his Horle, who in the chale either falling or finking in a marish, left his Mafter to the cruelty of his Persuers, who ftrook off his head, and to feed their eyes with the spectacle of their rage, fet it to the difgrace of the French on the bat-Hements of the Calle of Hame. This end had Sir Anthony Direct who deferved to well both of France and Scotland, having been courteous, valiant, and noble in all his actions, and a great Administrator of Justice, who spared no travel and freely adventured upon any dangers to suppress malefacrors, and defend the weak and innocent.

The Governours, That greater mischief should not follow the boldness of these men, madechoice of the Earl of Arran to resist their outrage, and declare him Warden of the Marches and Supre in. Which election displeased the Earl of Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus; the Earl of Arran armed with power are the Earl of Arran armed with t

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his Brother to the Castle of Edenburgh, and Mark Car in Garvet Castle, out of a suspition they were accessory to the
slaughter of Sir Anthony Darcey. In a Parliament shortly sollowing many of the Humes and Cockburns Fugitives for this
slaughter, and for that they had invited the English to their
aid and spoil of the Countrey, are declared Rebels. The
Parliament being dissolved, the Earl of Arran with a sufficient number of Souldiers, and some great Ordinance, besieged the Castles of Hume and Langtonn, and had them rendred to his mercy.

When the accident of Sir Anthony Darcey was noised at the Court of France, King France is recorded to have said he never looked for better at the hands of the Scots, and that the Duke of Albany should have deputed men of their own nation to have governed them, and not a stranger, being a people delighting in Misgovernment, ever well pleased at the Falls and tragical ends of their Rulers, and joying to see

any hard hap happen to them they deem happy.

The Bishop of Dunkell who had accompanied the Governour to France, used such diligence at the Court, that he was imployed to be the first Messenger to the Countrey of the great promises and many Ceremonies of the French, at the confirmation of the League, with their protestations for the preserving and maintaining the Liberties of the Kingdom of Scotland against all who would essay to impair them. Not long after arrived the Earl of Lennox and an Herauld with Letters from King Francis and the Governour, amplifying and putting a larger gloss on the same. But when by other Letters the Queen and Nobles had received certain intelligence that King Francis and the King of England had composed their Quarrels, entred in a new band of Amity, a defensive League being p. fled between them, Tournay rendred to the French, promises upon either side solemnly made for a March to be between the Daulphine of France, eldest fon to King Francis, and the eldest daughter of Henr, King of England, when age should enable them for marriage, and that in the large Treaty of Peace, not one word was fet down for the quietnels and help of those who for the quarrel of France hast lost their King, and endangered their whole Kingdom; no care had of their welfare and prosperity, they stormed not a little, and thought their lives and travels evil imployed. Then with as great haft as fuch a matter required they dispatched Letters back again to the Governor bletted with complaints and expostulations. The year following to excuse his overlight, the FrenchKing fent a Reafon why he had not made mention of the Scotiffenation in his league with England, He had fludied to give latisfaction to some of the Scotish Nobility (obliquely touching

touching the Duke of Albany) whole minds he knew to be altogether averse from any peace or Truce with the English nation; whose undaunted Spirits and great courages were only bent to revenge the deaths of their King, Kinsmen and Compatriots. This evasion not giving satisfaction to the best advised of the Council, the French King interposed his endeavours with King Henry to have a cessation of arms for as short a time as he could devise. VV herupon Clarencieux and onels Fiot, comming to Scotland, the one from the King of England, the other from the French King, a Truce was concluded between the two Kingdoms for one year and a whole day. The reason of this Truce was thought mostly to be for that the Kings of England and France, the next Summer, were to have an interview, and with all Princely courtesses entertain each other.

The Kingdom began to be sensible of the absence of the Governour, factions increasing, the Commons suffering dayly outrages, the Nobility and Gentry deciding their Rights by their Swords. The Earl of Roth fay and the Lord Lind ay contending which should be Sheriff of Fyfe, with tumultuary arms invade each other, and hardly by the Deputies were restrain'd, till the one was committed to the Castle of Dumbar, and the other to the Castle of Dumbartoun. Robert Blackadour Priour of Coldingbam, with fix of his Domestick Servants, is killed by the Laird of Wedderburn. The King out of a suspition that the plague was in Edenburgh, being transported to the Castle of Dalkieth by the Convoy of the Earl of Arran, who was then Provost of the Town: it being the season when the Townsmen make election of their Magistrates for the year following; when the Earl was returned and fought to enter the Town, he found the Gates shut upon him by the Citizens, who alleged he came to invade their liberties in the free choise of their Magistrates : the tumule continueth the most part of the night, and the next morning early the people dividing infactions, and fkirmilling in the streets. a Deacon of the Crafts is killed by the faction of the Hamiltons, which alienated the minds of the Townsmen altogether from the Earl of Arran, and made them encline to the Earl of Angus, some of whose friends and followers had rescued some of the Citizens, and taken part with others; which made ma. ny after conceave this discord was plotted by some noblemen enemies to the Earl of Arran amongst which the Barl of Angus was the chief.

After this tumult the Earls of Angus and Arran fought likewife to cross each other in their proceedings: the one maintaining the enemies of the other: who had a quarrel against the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Angus betriended him, as the Earl

of Arran supported and sided those who had any discontent against the Earl of Angus. A suit falling between the Earl of Angus and David Car Laird of Farnehalf about the Ballywick of Jedbrough Forrest, the Lands appertained to the Earl, the title and power to fit Judge belonged to the Lairds of Farnbaft, Sir James Hamilton the natural Son of the Earl of Arran affifted the Laird of Farnbaft; and besides those who out of good will, friendship, kinred, vassalage, did follow him he gathered fourty Souldiers fuch as were found upon the Borders, men living upon Spoil and rapine, to be of his party. The Laird of Cessoord (then Warden of the Marches) who with his Counsel and Force fided the Earl of Angue, at the Rumour of the approach of Sir James to Jedbrough, encountreth him, and his fourty Hirelings abandoning him in his greatest danger, Cesfoord killing some of his followers brought to make uf= of his fours towards the Caftle of Hume, where after a long chase he got Sanctuary. The day following the Laird of Farnehaft held a Court in the Town of Jedbrough, as Baily to the Earl of Angus, and the Barl himself kept his Court three miles distant in Jed-ward Forrest. In the moneth of May after, certain Noblemen affembled at Edenburgh to accommodate all quarrels, and make an atonement between the Douglasses and Hamiltons. Many Lords of the West here meet, attending the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Lennox, Eglintoun, Caffiles, the Lords Ross, Simple, the Bishop of Galloway, Abbot of Pastey. The Provost of the Town of Edenburgh Archembald Dowglas of Kilspyndie, Uncle or Coulen Germainto the Earl of Angue, yielded up his place to Robert Logan Laird of Restlerig. The Lords of the West by the advice of James Beatown Chancelour (in whose House they often assembledy laid a plot to surprize the Earl of Angue, then attended but by some few of his Friends, and as it were folitary. They thought him to great and infolent a Subject to whole power never one of theirs alone, was equal in all points, and they had many things to chalenge him upon when the Governor should return. The Earl of Augus, forewarned of their intention, imployed the Bishop of Dunkell his Uncle to offer them what honourable fatisfaction they could require. All that he propounded being rejected by implacable men, and finding the only way to be freed of violence. to be violence, and that danger could not be avoyded but by agreater danger, with an hundred hardy resolute men armed with long Spears and Pikes, which the Citizens as he traveried the Streets, out of Windows furnished him, he invested a part of the Town, and barricadoed some Lanes with Carts and other impediments which the time did afford. The adverse party trusting to their number, and the **fupply** 

supply of the Citizens (who calling to mind the slaughter of their Deacon, shew them small favour ) disdaining the Earl should thus muster on the Streets, in great fury invade Whilst the bickering continued, and the Town is in a Tumult, William Dowglas brother to the Earl of Angus, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, George Hume brother to the late Lord, with many others by blood and Friendship tyed together, enter by violence the East Gate of the Town (the Citizens making small resistance ) force their passage through the throngs, feek the Earls enemies, find them, fcoure the streets of them. The Master of Montgomery eldest Sonne to the Earl of Eglintoun, Sir Patrick Hamiltoun, Brother to the Earl of Arran, with almost fourscour more are left dead up. on the place. The Earl himself findeth an escape and place of retreat through a Marsh upon the North side of the Town; The Chancelour and his retinue took Sanctuary in the Dominican Fryers; the tumult by the flaughter of fome, and flight of others appealed, the Earl of Angus now freed of danger, licensed all who pleased without further pursuit peaceably to leave the Town of Edenburgh, and return to their own Houses. Some daies after the Humes well banded and backed with many Nobles and Gentlemen of their linage by the Earl of Angus consent, took the Lord Humes and his brothers heads from the place where they had been fixt, and with the funeral Rites of those times interr'd them in the Black Fryers.

The Earl of Angus having angled the peoples hearts by his Magnificence, Wildom, Courage and Liberality, his Faction began to bear greatest sway in the Kingdom. For the continuance of which, the King of England dealt most earnestly with the French King to keep the Duke of Albany Still in France with him. But the French had contrary designs. And when the Duke understood the great discords of the Nobility of scotland, persons of Faction being advanced to places, dangerous immunities being granted to the Commons, France and England beginning to be tyred of their Peace, and preparing for a new war : to curb the scottifb Factions, keep the Nation in quietness in it self, by giving the Subjects other work abroad, whilst common danger should break of particular discords. Notwithstanding of the English Ships which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about five years in France, in November he arrived on the west coasts of Scotland at a place named Garloch. The Go. vernour comming to Edemburgh, fet himself to amend the enormities committed in his absence; the Magistrates of the Town are deposed, because in the late uproar they had been evil seconds to the Lords of the west, when they went to

fur-

furprize the Earl of Angus. A Parliament is called, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen are cited to make appearance in February to be tryed, and to answer for offences committed by them in the Governours absence. The appointed time being come, these who appeared not, were indicted and fled into England. Amongst which, and the chief, were the Humes and Cockburns, men Authors and accessary to the death of Sir Anthony Darcey. The tyde now turning, and mens af. fections changed, the Earl of Angus, with his brother Sir George Donglas, by the intercession of the Queen, are constrained to seek a Pardon: which was obtained for them, but with the condition that they should leave the Countrey, and stay in France one whole year, which they obeyed. Others have recorded they were surprized in the night, and in French Ships conveyed privately away. Mr. Gaven Dowglas Bishop of Dunkell, in the absence of his Nephew, finding the Governour violent in the chase of the Faction of the Dowglasses, fled privately to the Court of England, where he gave informations to King Henry against him. He alone had taken to him the custody of the young King, the sequel whereof he much feared; he was an irreconciliable enemy to the whole Family of the Dow-The principal cause of his comming to Scotland was to engage the Nation in a War against England, that the English bould not affift the Emperour against the French King, and make bis Nation flaves to France.

This Bishop shortly after dyed at London, and was buryed in the Savoy Church: having been a man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent Poet, as his works, yet extant, te-

Stifie.

The King of England upon such informations sent Clarencieux (King of Arms) to Scotland to require the Duke to avoid the Country, according to the Articles agreed upon be-

tween the French King and him in their last truce.

It belonged (said Clarencieux) to his Master to tender the life, wellfare, honour, fortunes of his Nephew, of none of which he could be assured so long as the Duke ruled and stayed in Scotland. It was against all reason, and unbeseeming, the man should be sole Guardian to a King, who was the next heir to the Crown: how easily might be be tempted by opportunity to commit the like unnatural cruelty which some have done in the like case both in England and other parts of Europe? if he loved his Nation and Prince (as he gave out) he required him to leave the Country, which if he yield not unto, but obstinately continued in a resolution to stay, he denounced from his Master present war. He farther complained, That the Earl of Angus, who was King Henries Brother-in Law, was by him banisht and detained in France; That during the banishment of the Earl, which had been neer a whole year, the Duke

had importuned his Sifter the Queen with dishonest love.

The Governour answered Clarencieux, That what the Kings of France and England agreed upon in their Ireaties of Peace was to him uncertain, but of this he was most certain, That neither the King of England nor France had power to banish him (a Forainer over whom their authority did not reach) his native Country, like

over like having no jurisdiction.

As concerning the King of Scotland, who was yet young in years be reverenced him as his Soveraign Lord, and would keep and defend both him and his Kingdome according to his Conscience. bonour and bound duty; that there were ever more men in the world who descred to be Kings, than there were Kingdomes to be bestowed upon them, of which number he was none, having ever preferred a mean estate justly enjoyed, before a Kingdome evil acquired. For the Earl of Angus, be had used all Courtestes towards him notwith. standing of his evil demerits, not for his own sake (be did confess) but for the Queens sake, whom he bonoured and respected as the Mother of his Prince, and towards whom he should continue his That the King of England needed not misdoubt he would attempt any thing should derogate from the bonour of his sister, that complements of meer curtesie in France, might be surmised cometimes by English Ladies to be solicitations and suits of Love.

For the War, with which in case of his stay, he threatned his nation, he would use his best endeavours to set his in a posture of De-

fence.

When this answer was reported to King Henry, hegathered a great Army to invade Scotland, and essay if by their own dangers the Scots people could be moved to abandon and disclaim the Dukes authority. Seven great Ships came to Inche-keeth and spoiled the adjacent Coasts: all the Scots and French which did then inhabite London, and other places of England, were put to their fines, and commanded to go off the Countrey.

In compensation and for equal amends, the French King seized all English mens goods in Bourdeaux, imprisoned the persons, and retained the money to be paid for the restitution of Tournay. The Earl of Shrewsbury making incursions on the Borders, burned the one half of Kelso, and plundered

the other.

At this time the Emperor Charles the fifth came to England, and stirred King Henry to take arms against the French King; and the French had sent Embassadours to Scotland intreating and conjuring the Scots by their old and new League to arise in arms and invade England. The Governour assembled the three Estates at Edinburgh, which together condescended to the raising of an Army to resist the incursions of the Eng-

lish and defend the Kingdom, to encourage every man for fighting, the Wards of those which should fall in this expedition, were freely remitted and discharged by Act of Parlament, and pensions designed to the Widdows and Daughters of those who dyed in this service. This Empyrick balm could the French apply to cure the wounds of the Scotish Common-wealth.

The Earl of shrewsbury advancing (as was reported) towards the west Borders, an Army was far gathered and encamped on Rosline-moor, which after, according to the orders given, marched to Annandale and forwards, came to the Esk, a River running in the Irish Seas neer Carlile; the Governour delighted with the Seat and standing of the place, caused dig Trenches, and by the advice of certain French Gunners placed some Field Pieces, and small Ordinance for defence of them, and spread there his Pavilions. The Citizens of Carlile terrified at the sudden approach of so powerful an Army, offer many presents for the safety of their Town, which he rejected. The English Army not minding to invade the Scots so long as they kept themselves on their own ground and advanced not, the Governour endeavoured to make the scots spoil the Countrey by incursions, but he findeth them flack and unwilling to obey and follow him, most part refusing to go upon English Ground, amongst whom Alexander Lord Gordon was the chief and first man. The Governour finding his command neglected, and some Noblemen differting from what he most intended, commeth back to the place where they made their stand, and defires a reason of their stay. They told him, they had determined to defend their own Countrey, not invade England. That it neither confifted with the weal of the Common-wealth, nor as matters went at that time, had they sufficient forces to make invasive War: That the Governour did not instigate them to invade England for the love he carryed to Scotland, but for a benefit to the French, by diverting the war prepared by the English against them. That by invading they might make themselves a prey to their enemies; they were Men and not Angels; it was enough for them whilft their King was under age to defend his Kingdom from the violence of Foreign. ers. Put the case they werein one battel victorious, confidering the flaughter and loss of their Nobles and Gentry in that purchase, they might be overthrown in a second fight, and then to what would the King and Country be reduced? their last King might serve them for a pattern, the Revenge of whose death should be delayed till he himself were of years to undertake it.

The Governour brought to an exigent, said they should have

have propounded these difficulties before they took Arms, and on the place of Battel. Temerity misbecame Noblemen in action, but especially in matters of War, in which a man cannot err twice. At the convention of the three Estates when war was in deliberation, they should have inquired for the causes of it; he was not to bring them upon the danger of a war without their own confent. The English had made many incursions upon their Countrey, burning and ravaging: who stand only upon defence, stand upon no defence; a better defence of their own Countrey could not be found than by invading the Countrey of their Enemies. They should not be dejected for that accident at Flowden, since it was not the fault of the Souldier, but the Treason of their Chamberlain who had suffered for it. That the glory of the Nation should raise their courages, and inflame their bosoms with a defire of revenge: The Kings honour and their piety towards the Ghosts of their Compatriots, crav'd no less from That if they would not invade England, at least, for their Reputation and Fame with the World, they would pitch there a short time their Tents, and try if the English would hazard to assail them. That it would be an everlasting branding their honour, if timoroufly in a suddennesse they show their backs to their enemies, and dared them not in the face by some daies stay.

The Queen, though absent, had thus perswaded the Noblemen, and having understood the Governour to be turned now flexible, the dispatched a Post to him, requesting he would be pleased with a Truce for some Moneths, and that he would commune with the Warden of the English Marches, whom she should move to come to his Tent and treat with him. The Governour finding he stood not well affured of some of his Army, and knowing what a cumberfome task it was to withstand the violence of their desires, determined to follow their own current: feemed well pleafed to hearken to their opinion. Hereupon the Lord Dacres Warden of the West Marches came unto the Governours Camp the eleventh of September (and, as some have recorded, the Queen also) where a Cessation of Arms was agreed unto for some daies, in which time the Queen and the Governour should fend Embassadours to treat for a Peace with King Hen. ry, and shortly after Embassadours were directed to the Court of England, but returned without any good don, King Henry demanding extraordinary and harmful conditions to the Realm of Scotland.

The year 1522. Andrew Forman Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, dyed. and James Beatonn Arch-Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellour of the Kingdom came in his place of St. Andrews, the

Arch-Bishoprick of Glasgow was conferred upon Gaves Dumbar whom the King after advanced to be Chancellor of the

Kingdom.

The Governour refeating highly the flighting of the Embaffadours by the King of England, but more the contempt and fcorn of the Scottish Nobility in refusing to follow him, in October by the West Seas past over to France, promising that if a peace in this mean time were not concluded with England, he would the next Summer bring such War-like Briggades of French and Germans, that he should not stand much in need of his own Countreymen, who had continued so refractory and backward to his designs. He demanded from King Francis five thousand German Horsemen, and ten thousand foot to be transported to Scotland: which with the Scots who would accompany him, he thought sufficient to continue a War with England. The French could not spare fo many men, having Wars both with the Emperour and the English, but they gave him three thousand Pikes, and one thousand Launces. The Governour intending to return to scotland, receiving intelligence that the Ports towards the coasts of France were watched by the English to intrap him in his passage, bestowed his Ships so covertly here and there in small companies to avoid all suspition of any purpose he had to stir that year, as that thereupon the English Fleet under the Conduct of Sir William Fitz-Williams, which had at tended and waited his comming forth, untill the Midst of August, brake up and bestowed themselves in convenient Ports against the next spring. The Duke then watching opportunity, and readily gathering together his dispersed Ships, to the number of some fifty Sail, imbarked his men at Brest in Bretaign the one and twenty of September, and landed at Kirkowbry, or the Isle of Arran, in the West of Scotland. In his company was Richard de la Pool who had been banished England, and to his power faithfully affifted the Governour. He arrived the same time that fed-brough was burnt by the English; for Thomas Earl of Surrey high Admiral of England. the Marquels of Dorset and his Brother, with a competent power entring Scotland had burnt many Towns, and overthrown Castles and Piles.

At his comming the Duke assembled the Lords at Eden burgh, where they agreed that an Army should forthwith be gathered, and the 28. of October was appointed for their meeting at Dowglas-dale. At the day prefixe the Army marched towards Coldstream upon the Tweed. Out of this Army the Governour having selected a number of the hardiest Soldiers of Scots and French, and convoying some Artillery over the water under the command of David Car of Farnehast,

on the last of october they belieged the Castle of Wark, which was defended by Edward Lile or Lisle. The Assailants upon the outmost Ward continuing their Battery entred by main force the second Ward, but being there repulsed and beaten back, a great Tempest arising, and fearing the swelling of the River of Tweed might cut them off from their Army on theother fide, they turned back and repassed the Water; the Report of the Earl of Surreys forces come to rescue the Castle andlying at Anwick, had also perplexed them not a little; the Earlof surrey at his approach finding the Enemy retired to theother side of the River, the Castle safe, and having no Commission to pass the English marches, or to invade Scotland, made no further pursuit. In the mean time the Queen who had ever fought to make firm friendship with her Brother, and break the amity of France, fent to him to yield to a cellation of War, hoping in that time to work some agreement between the two Nations. Whereunto the King consenting, the Governour finding the Scottish Lords averse to his intentions, that he was this time served as he had been before ( they retuling still to enter upon England) and that striving would but the more chafe them, also condescended. Thus a Truce was promised, and faithful peace concluded till the last of November, being the Feast of St. Andrews; the Winter past without any invasion of the English on Scotland. or the Scots on England.

During the time of this Truce many serious consultations were amongst the Lords of Scotland whither it were more fit to continue this War, or give it over. Many of them held it unreasonable that for the onely pleasure of the French King the Realm of Scotland should suffer any more damage by the continuing of so needless a War, and that the Duke of Albany was alwaies let to perform what the French defired, not what was expedient for the Scottish Nation, nor what was in their possibility to accomplish. Wherefore they wished that their young King now having attained some years of discretion, and paffing the age of a Child, might bear some sway in the Government of the Realm. Some argued that a King fooner than the Sons of Noblemen went out of the bondage of Tutelage, and enjoyed greater immunities, his age often being reckoned from the time of his conception. That the administration and charge of the Kingdom should early be given him, that he might with his years grow in the art of Governing; Since we find the same to be usual in the perfection of other arts and Sciences. Othersentertained other thoughts, That to a child who could not by the weakness of his judgement discern Right from Wrong, the Helm of State should not be trusted, and that the Peers of the King-

dom

dom might be challeng'd of dotage by their Neighbor Countreys for giving to a Child the Sword of Justice, which he might thrust in their own entrails one day, or wound there-

with the bosom of the Common-wealth.

The Governour finding the Lords divided amongst them. selves, and their reasons averse to his intentions, and that not onely the people, but the Souldiery were weary of him, and had bent their affections upon their young King, foolithly preferring the ignorance and simplicity of a child to his prudency, experience, and long practice of State, requested them to give him leave to return to France, and to forgive him any errour he had committed, which he protested was of ignorance not of malice. Having from men distasted with him, without any opposition, obtained what he required, far from any outward shew of inward discontentment, or disquieting himself at the ingratitude of some whom he had advancd to Honors, he came to Sterlin, where after some days flay with the King, when he had given him fuch instructions of State, as he was able to understand ( for he was but then in the thirteenth year of his Age) with many tokens of love, and demonstrations of fincere affection he took his leave of him: and his Ships attending his passage on the West, with a great retinue of Scots and French, he held his way towards them, and recommended himself to the Sea in the Spring time, now the third time for France, after which he return'd not at all into Scotland.

He was a Prince adorned with many Virtues, Active, Couragious, Resolute, and knew how to use men as they

are

If he had not been opposed by the Queen and Nobility, he was likely to have lost himself and the whole Kingdom, or revenged the death of his Cousen.

His courteous nature went above his ambition; he could as well lay down his Honours, as he had modestly, when they

were laid upon him, received them.

Before the Rumor of the Duke of Albanies taking the Seas was spread abroad, the King of England by secret Letters had required the Earl of Angus, who then an Exile staid in France, to come to him; after the receit of which, with a short-leave taking he lest France, where he had staid almost three years, commeth to England; King Henry had brought him to believe, That the Duke had determined to extirpate his whole Linnage: To prevent which he made him offer of Men and Ammunition to preserve his own, and by his faction at home, and his affistance, to send the Duke over Seas; which if he had staied, the Earl was essented powerful enough to have accomplished.

The Duke of Albany being in France, the Queen with the

Govern-

Whom the moved to leave Sterlin and come to Edinburgh; the third day after he had made his entry in the Town the lodg'd with him in the Maiden Castle, and it seized on, armed with authority, the doubted not to make the Countrey yield her all obedience. That the Supream Magistrate of the Town should not oppose her Defigns, he is put from his Office, and the Lord Maxwell (a man to her obsequious) is substituted in his place.

To give the fairer lustre to her Actions, a Parlament is called at Edenburgh; that what she did, might consist with

Law.

When King Henry understood the Duke had left Scotland, to exclude and bar him all regress, he sent one Magnus, a great Oratour, but greater by the renown of his skill in the Laws, with Roger Ratcliff, his Embassadours, to try how the Scots, amidst unnecessary turmoils, would rellish a Truce and Cessation of Arms and these lay the blame of all the disorders and discords between the two Nations upon the Duke; The Nobles tyred with their tedious Wars, beginning to estimate the py a Heaven of rest, cheerfully accept of this Embassie, and agree unto a Truce for one whole year. To consirm which they condescend Commissioners shall be dispatched instantily, who shall treat not only for a Truce, but for a firm and lasting Peace between the two Nations, and unite the two Crowns in bands of Amity, as well as they were united in degrees of blood.

The Earl of Angus, his enemy abandoning the Kingdom, after honourable entertainment of the King of England, many promises to befriend him, and blandishments at his departing, commeth to Scotland, and his return began to change the Game of State. The Queens and Earl of Arrans Faction carryed all matters of importance, the Earls of Lennox, Argust, and the Humes had been sequestred from publick imployments; the first faction by his presence find their power diminisht, the other by his counterpoise and affistance have new hopes of arising both factions diffished that Angus should arise to the first place, and suspected he would not be content with the second; they loved to have him an equal, not Su-

preme.

Private jarrs smothered and interests delayed, matters concerning England requiring a hasty and present discharge, Gilbert Earl of Cassiles, Robert Cockburn Bishop of Dunkell, David Mill Abbot of Cambuskenneth, are sent Commissioners to the Court of England. At Greenwich they are honorably and kindly received by King Henry, whose countenance promised them a refusal of no reasonable thing they would re-

quire.

quire. The Bithop had a speech, the Sum of which was,

That dissention and hatred taken away between the two Nations, a faithful peace might be agreed unto and confirmed, their Discords turned into Union, their Rancour into Love, which to bring to pass and make durable. the only apparent and probable means, was to bestow the Lady Mary the Kings daughter, upon James the young King of Scotland.

The English with great joy applauded to what was said: And King Henry appointed certain Commissioners to treat about that purpose in private. These when they had met to advance the Union of the Kingdomes, desired these Condi-

tions.

First, That the Scotish Nation giving over, and fairly forsaking the League they had with France, should enter in a new League with them, upon the same conditions and terms which were contained in their League with France.

Next, That the young King of Scotland, till by age he was able for marriage, should be brought up at the Court of England.

When the Embassadours of Scotland had answered, That these conditions were above their Commission, to which they could not well answer, and desired a time to acquaint the Council of Scotland with them; it was condescended unto. Thus two of them remaining at London the Earl of Cassiles, returned to

scotland to bring back an answer.

When the day in which the Parlament should have been held was come, the Queen and they who were of her faction. as the Earls of Arran, Murray, Eglintoun, fearing the Earl of Angus might turn the wavering peoples affection, and move them to some Revolt, which might hinder their Determinations, or terrify the Commissioners by the frequent convention of his Friends and Followers, constraining their voices, and restraining their freedom of speech: Or that they had a plot to surprize some of the contrary Faction, and by authority of Parlament commit them in that place, caused a Proclamation to be made, That none of the three Estates should sit or assemble themselves in the Town of Edinburgh, but that they should keep their meeting in the Castle and there give their presence. The Earls of Angus, Lennox, Arguyl, Arch-bishop of Saint Andrews, Bishop of Aberdeen and Dumblane, with their adherents, and others, who joined with them rather out of fear than good will, refuse to enter the Castle, and require, That the Parlament be kept in the accustomed Place, the King may in Triumph be frewn to his own people, conveyed along the High-street. All which being denyed them, giving out That Justice was violated, the King kept against his will as a Prisoner, the Government and custody of his person seised on without consent of the three Estates, they surround the Castle with two thousand

men in Arms, stop all furniture of food and victuals, which should been afforded by the Town. In this distress they in the Castle turn the great Ordinance against the Town, and threaten the innocent Citizens with the overthrow of their buildings. Some powder and time spent in terrifying the people, at last Church-men interposing themselves, and interceding, perswading with the parties, an accommodation and atonement is wrought, their sury quenched, all rancour suppress, injuries forgotten, the King in magnificence and pomp is convoyed from the Castle to his Palace at Holywood-House, and the Esta es assemble in the wonted place of the Town of Edenburgh.

In this Parliament the Authority of the Governour is a-brogated, by which means they laved him a labour from returning into Scotland again; Eight Lords were chosen to have the custody of the Kings person quarterly, every one his Moneths successively, and the whole to stand for the Government of the States, yet with this Limitation, That the King by their Counsel should not determine, nor ordain any thing in great affairs to which the Queen, as Princess and Dowager, gave not her free consent and

approbation.

The Lords were, the Arch-bishops of 8. Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkel, the Earls of Angus, Arran,

Lennox, Arguyl.

Time urging resolution, the Lords of Parlaments direct the Earl of Cassiles again to the Court of England to declare their resolution concerning the marriage of the King and the esta-

blishing a Peace between the Kingdoms.

The news of the overthrow of the French Army, and the taking of their King at Pavia by the Imperialists being come to the Court of England before the Arrival of the Earl of Cassiles, King Henry told the Scotish Embassadours in plain terms, He could not determine any thing concerning the Marriage of his Daughter, without acquainting the Emperour her neerest Kinsman and his Confederate, with his proceedings, which could not be done in bast, and so soon, as they required, considering the troubles of Italy.

Hereupon the Embassadours, their hopes of this Alliance delayed, having obtained a Truce between the two Nations for the space of three years and three moneths faithfully to be

kept, returned to their own Countrey.

The State began of new to be tossed by the troublesome Factions of the Queen and Earl of Angus, the Original of which sprang from matters of the Church; the Abbacy of Holy-rood-House falling vacant by the promotion of George Creightoun Abbot to the Bishop-rick of Dunkell; the Earl of Angus, to whom the custody of the King was ussed, either

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by lot or content, moved him to confer this Abbacy upon his Brother Mr. William Prior of coldinham, without acquainting the Queen with the Oift, or feeking the confent of the other Rulers: at this the Queen turned fo displeased, that abandoning the King to the pleasure of the Earl of Angus, She with her Followers retired to Sterlin. By this unconfiderate retreat the Earl administred all alone, leaning to the greatness of his own power, that some might have thought the Queen set her Game to make up his. All favours and punishments pass by him, All Offices and Places of importance are distributed to his favourites; He made Archembald Dowglas his Uncle Treasurer, Sir George his Brother Great Chamberlain; the Abbacies of Coldingham and Ho'y-rood-house were in his Brothers hands, neither temporal nor ecclefialtical Dignity escapt him; his greatness instantly procureth him envie.

The Arch-Bishop of Saint Andrews, the Earls of Arran, Arguyl, Murray, who were of the Queens faction, lay a plot to accuse Angus of high Treason. They challenge him, That he kept the King against his will, insolently restrained his Liberty, and that contrary to the order established by the Estates, which was that the custody of his person should every four Moneths by turns be allotted to the Governours of the Countrey in a Circles. That he could not dispose of any thing of moment alone, the contrary of all which he had usurpeds, whereupon they charge him to dismiss the King, and restore him to them, and the other Counsellours equall in Government with him, under the pain he should be reputed a Traytor and no loyall Subject, for this invassalling his Prince to his attendance.

The Earl of Angus himself to this answered not, but Sir George his Brother moved the King to give the answer himself. His Mother and those other Rulers should not be thus solicitous for him; for with none more cheerfully, willingly and contentedly could be live and spend his time than with the Earl of Angus, neither could be leave the company of one so highly favored of his Un-

cle, and so well meriting of himself.

For all this answer he had secretly sent Letters to his Mother, and those of the adverse party, intreating, They would remove him from the Earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious Government, and if it could not be otherways done, to accomplish it by main force of arms, if they had any pitty, or if any Sparks of duty remained unquenched in them towards him, if they dared Enterprize ought for a Royal, though now thralled, Supplyant, or obey the Command of a King in Prison; that the answer which he sent before unto them and his Mother was by constraint and compulsion drawn from him, and far from his Mind.

Upon this advertisment the Queen and they of her Faction, assemble what power they could raise in such a suddenn: Is at Sterlin, and with great expedition marched towards Edenburghto separate the King from the Earl his Guardian; Who, resolved to repel force by force, with the Townsmen of Edenburgh, many friends and adherents, and the King, though against his will, marched out of Edenburgh to encounter the fight of these Rebels. When the Leaders of the Queens forces understood the King in person was in the adverse Army, either dazled with the splendour of the presence of a King, or fearing if they joined in battel, the person of their Prince might be endangered, or that they found themselves not strong enough in number and arms for a Conflict, they retired back again to Sterlin, where they disbanded, and returned every man to his own dwelling place: The Queen with the Earl of Murray went to Murray-land, the Earls of Arran and Arguyl to the West, the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews to Dumfermling.

This Faction dissipated, the Earl of Angus remained more stable, and assured of his Guardianship, and now he findeth

no Competitour.

The want of the great Seal being a hinderance to many of his projects, and he disdaining to be a suiter to his enemie; for dispatch of publick affairs, caused the King send a Letter for it, and the Arch-bishop with all respect sent it immediately to the Earl: with whom to be equal he took himself to new Meditations.

The Queen many waies provokt by her Husband the Earl of Angus, and lastly by detaining her Son against his will and contrary to the publick course agreed upon the Arch-bishop perswaded her To intend a process of Divorcement against him. and diffolve her marriage; this might produce some great effect, at least it could not but diminish the Earls reputation among the people. The Queen and the Earl many times in private between themselvesagreed upon a separation, disliking each others conditions; for it was fatal to her as to her Brother King Henry to delight in change of Wedlock, and be jealous of her Matches. The Earlis therefore cited before the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews to hear the sentence pronounced according to the Laws of the Church in those times; at the day appointed he appeareth. The Queen alledged, He had been betroathed, given his faith and promise of marriage to a noble woman of the Kingdom (a daughter of Traquare) before the marrying of her. and so by reason of that Precontract he could not be her lawful bus band. The Earl confesseth; The Arch-bishop pronouncesh the sentence of Divorcement, but with this Reservation and Restraint, That the Child come of the Queen and the Earl the time of their marriage by the ignorance of the Mother (the Queen) should not suffer any loss, dammage or disadvantage.

The King of England resented highly this Divorcement, endeavour'd by his Letters to hinder it; for he thought some things tolerable in men, which were incompetent and shame ful in women, and after never carried such respect to his Sister as he had done before. Of these she made little reckoning, for after the sentence given, she married Henry Stuart, Son to the Lord Eavendale, whom K. James to do honor to his Mother, promoted to be Lord Messagand General of his Ar-

tillery.

Whilst the King remained a shadow to the Earls Government amidst so many distractions, discords and jars of the Grandees, the Court turned folitary and unfrequented by any Noblemen, fave these of the Dowglasses own faction, a. mongst which the Earl of Lennox, shewed himself most indit. ferent. For he for his own ends attending the Court, in a fhort time so framed himself to the Kings humours, that he delighted alone in his conversation, and often hid none of his inward thoughts and fecret intentions from him. Among others he many times importuned him to give him a found advice how he might de delivered from the Earl of Angus, of whose bondage he had been long weary, whose rule over him was turned now into tyranny, his ambition having mounted to that height that he was not content to command the Kingdome, but to thrall and keep under his Soveraign Lord the King himself, that the effects of his Governing were the dispersing of his Nobles, and banishing of his mother

The Earl of Lennox, who by his familiarity with the King was become suspitious of Angus, and had an intention to tumble out a man hated of his Prince, establish himself in his place, and rule the young King alone, aggravating his and the Countreys miseries, told him, after much intreaty, The Lord of Balclough was the only person to be imploy'd in fuch a service; a man of unlimitted desires, displeased, strong in power, mightily hated, and who had inveterate hatred against the Earl of Angus, who wanted nothing but opportunity to execute his rancour: If this conceived exploit had not a defired success, then he himself would by main force either win his Prince, or loofe his life in the Enterprize. The Laird of Balclough secretly advertised of the Kings intention giveth way to much oppression and many insolencies on the borders, the redress of which required the presence of the Prince. Complaints are given against them, and the King to do justice accompanied with the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Lords Hume, Flamin, Areskin, Cesfoord, Farnebaft,

haft, and others commeth to Jed brough. But when they had staied there some daies, small redress was of wrongs, no justice executed, the chief men of the Borders not producing the Delinquents of their Names, to answer according to law as was the antient cultom. Thus as they came they were returning, when at Melrofe as they hoverd at the passage of a Bridge over the Tweed, certain companies of men in arms appeared on the Descents of Hellidon Hill: which being come within distance of discerning were known to be commanded by the Laird of Balclough, and number'd a thousand all borderers and broken men. The Earlot Angus, not a little mov'd at to fudden an apparition, by an Herauld craveth to understand their intentions, and how in such a hostile manner they dared come so near the Kings person, withall charging them under pain of high Treason to retire. The Laird of Balcloughs answer was, he came to do the King service, invite him to his house, show him what forces he was able to raile upon the Borders when necessity should require his service and affistance. That he would not obey a charge contrary to the Kings mind, of which he was conscious, and herewith he marched forwards. Presently the Earl alighting on foot, leaving the Earl of Lennox, Lords Areskin, Maxwell, Sir George Dowglas Ninian Creightoun with the King as Spectators of the Game, with the Lord Flammin and other his Friends, marshall'd his Men for the Charge, which was given with a great shout and clamor of these Borderers. The Lord Hume, Lards of Farnehalt and Cesfourd had taken their leave of the King who gladly dismiss them, but upon advertisement of the sudden tray, being not far of they return in hast with an hundred Launces, in good time for the Earl of Angus, and falling upon one of the Wings of Balcloughs troups force them to vield ground, and some to turn their backs, upon which suddenly followeth the Chafe, Cesfoord and Farnehaft, cagerly persewing. Here at the descent of a little Hill, by the blow of a Launce which a Domestick of Balchoughs threw from his Arm, the Laird of Cessoord is flain, and by his death the Chase left off to be follow'd, and a long deadly fewd between the Scots and Cars was begun, fourfcore Borderers were kill'd in this bickering affisting Balclough, himself was wounded with many of his friends, the Earl of Angul, lost not a few besides the Laird of Cerfoord.

The Earl of Angus after this road of Melross perceiving his enemies to increase, and the affections of some of the Nobility turned from him, composing the old difference between him and the Earl of Arran, entered into condition of a strict friendship with him, and was content he should be his partner and fellow-governour in distribution of Caushalities and

ruling the Countrey. When the King had confidered how twice his intentions had been broken, and unhappily without success, he began to essay the third by the Earl of Lennox, whom challenging of his promise he desired to gather an Ar my and joining his Forces with the Queens to restore him to his Liberty. The Earl of Lennox, before suspected, after the League and friendship of the Earl of Angus with the Earl of Arran, became a declared enemy to Angus, withdrew himself from Court : and some few Moneths being passed, at sterlin he maketh a Declaration to all the Lieges of his intentions, inviting them to affift and fide with his cause. One thousand men came from the High-lands to him, the Earl of Calliles and Master of Kilmayers come from the West with two thousand, the Queen and Arch-bishop James Beatoun, direct many of their Vallalls from Fiffe to him: Thus with three strong Briggades he marcheth towards Lynlith-

cow.

The Earl of Angus understanding these preparations to be against him, imploreth the assistance of his best Friends to withstand them, especially the Carres and Humes, to whole valour he had lately been so far obliged. He sendeth Letters to the Earl of Arran and the Gentlemen of the name of Hamiltoun, regretting the estate of the Common-wealth, requiring their speedy aid. That in so perilous time setting afide all particular Respects and Quarrels, they would have a care of the Common good of the Countrey. If the Earl of Lennox should carry the King from him, and remained Vifor of the Field, he would not stay there, his next mark would be the Hamiltouns, whom he was in the way to put from all title to the Crown, the report going already that the King would intail it to him out of his own favour, and had designed him Heir'to the Earl of Arran, he having no children of his own. That the King had a magnetical affection towards him, which, if Fortune favoured him with a Victory, would increase, now meritting which before was but meer favour. The custody of a young King was not for a man of lo short experience. The Hamiltouns finding that man their Suppliant who late was their Competitor, delighting to live in a troubled State, and be Copartners of the Government and mannaging the affairs of the Kingdom, which was promised them in their new band of Friendship, laying aside all former discontent and grudge accept the Quarrel, and affemble their Forces at Lynlithgow. To this Town the Earl of Lennox was advancing, and he being the Sisters Son of the Earl of Arran, by Gentlemen well affected towards him, and of his kinred, they intreat him to turn back, and not to try the hazard of a battel for a conquest; he could not long

long enjoy the Government of a young Prince, whom a little more time would make Governour of himself, and who (perhaps) would reward his fervice with difgrace; It being ordinarily feen that great obligations to Princes procure rather their hatred than love, whilst it is more easie to pay men by contempt than benefits: that if he came forwards, no interest of blood would save him from their just and lawfull stopping of his passage and enterprize. The Earl of Lennex answerd, it was no time then in the eye of the world to abandon so just a quarrel, that shame wounded deeper than death. which he would rather imbrace than not fee his Prince at Edenburgh. And finding the Bridge over the Avan possest by the enemy, passed his Companies over the River Et near the antient Monastery Immanuel; the Maister of Kill mayers guideth the Vantguard, confisting of Westland men; the Earl of Cassiles and himself the main Battel, many of which were high-land men, being of all (as some write) ten thoufand. The Earl of Angus having estayed in vain to bring the King to the Field with the power of Edenburgh, leaving that Charge to his Brother Sir George and Archembald Dowelas Provost of the Town, accompanied with the Humes and Carres, being of all two thousand, maketh a speedy march towards Lynlithgow. But the Earl of Arran, spurr'd by the ambition and youthful heat of his Son Sir James Hamiltoun, had begun the fight before he could appear; for a long time it is valiantly fought, victory inclining to neither side, tilla great clamour arose seconded by the appearance of fresh Troops of enemies, the Dowglaffes and their Friends, at which alarum many of the High-land and West-land men turned their backs; the rest by the advantage of the place sustain the Fight.

The King, after much loytering and many delaies (having heard the Armies were near joining) and much solicitation of Sir George Dowglas, issueth out of Edenburgh at a flow march. But when at Corstorphine Hills he was a waken'd with the noyse of the great Ordinance, he urgeth his Followers to make all hafte to come to the fight. It was reported Sir George Dowglas drove his Horse, in a great rage gave him injurious words, which he never after forgot. Being half way he is advertised that the Earl of Lennox highland-men were fled, and by all appearance the Earl of Arran was Master of the Field. This news perplexed him not a little, but making the best of that worst, he dispatch'd all his domestick Servants with Andrew Wood of Largo, to fave so many as they could in the Chase, especially the Earl of Lennox, whose life he now tendereth as his Crown. But this Earl after he had been taken by the Laird of Pardowye, in cold blood was unnaturally slain by Sir James Hamiltoun, who either killed or wounded on the face all that came under the dint of his Sword in the Rout.

They found the Earl of Arran mourning over his Corps, over which he fpred his cloak; the Laird of Howstown lay dead by him, the Master of Killmayers fore wounded at their comming, maintained the fight, and was by them with difficulty saved, with so many others as either the Kings authority or their power could reskew. This Conflict happened

in September.

After the victorious Earls had rested their wounded Souldiers, and refreshed themselves in Lithgow, they accompany the King to Sterlin, and immediately march through Fiffe in quest of those who had been the cause of taking arms against them, of which number the Queen was; but the Arch-bishop of Saint Andrews was the most eminent, who, as before he had seconded Arran to surprize Angus, so now he had stirred Lennox to the overthrow of them both. cause the Arch-bishop was not to be found (for he (as some record) was turned a true Pastour, and in Shepheards weeds kept sheep on some Hill) they spoiled the Abbacy of Dumfermling, and Castle of St. Andrews, defacing all the Ornaments, and carryed away the Moveables and stuff in them. The Queen with her Husband Henry Stuart, and James his brother, betook them to the Castle of Edenburgh, which the Lords at their return belieged. The Mother hearing her Son was amongst the Besiegers in person, obtaining favour for her husband and his Brother, caused the Gates to be cast open. But for their fafety such who loved them, advised the King to commit them to that place during his pleafure.

Now the Earl of Angus and Arran summoned all who had born Arms against the King to appear in judgement, and answer according to the Law as Traytors. Some compounded for Sums of money, others became Dependers of the Houses of Angus and Arran: Gilbert Earl of Cassiles being summoned and compearing, Hugh Kennedy his Kinsman answer'd the indictment, that he came not against the King but to assist the King, for proof of which he offered to produce the Kings own Letter. Though the Earl of Cassiles escaped the danger of the Law he did not the sury of the Revenge, was taken about some disparaging words; for as he was returning home, he was surprized in the way and killed; Some write by the Sheriff of Aire, but by the direction of Sir James

Hamiltoun.

About this time the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, and other Church-men in revenge of the spoiling of his Houses, and persuing himself, for questions of Religion, burn the Earl of

Arrans

Arrans brothers Son Mr. Patrick Hamilton, and banith Mr.

Patricks brother James Sheriff of Lithgow.

Not long after, mens wrath by time diminishing and their bloud growing colder, the Arch-bishop having bestowed on the Earl of Angus, Sir George his Brother, and other their Friends, some Church benefices and many Leases of Tyths, was reconciled unto them, and with appearance of great friendship they mutually entertained and teasted each others at the Christ-Mass in the City of S. Andrews. But small confi-

dence could be long among reconciled enemies.

Now went every thing as the earl of Angus could have wished, he was not only entire and familiar with the Kings person, but with his Office; some of his enemies were dead. others overthrown in open Field, with the rest he was reconciled. No faction for power or richess was equal to his: Nor remained there any Castle or Fortress not seised on by him, and garrisoned with his Friends and Followers, ex. cept the Castle of Sterlin, a part of the Queens Dowry, which being desolate by her Miseries, and only haunted by some of her poorest and meanest Servants, was neglected by the Earl, which in him was a great errour, the fitness of the place for a revolution and change of Court considered. Many daies the Earl had not feen his own dwelling Places, nor thought upon his private affairs, being carryed away by the storms of Court, now he thinketh he may securely pass to Lothian, whilst at Faulkland the King shall be safely entertained by his Brother Sir George, Archembald his Uncle, and James of the Parkhead Captain of the Guards; having earnestly entreated their attendance on the King, he crosseth the Forth, with resolution soon to return. His departing was not so concealed, but the Arch-bishop of st. Andrews had knowledge of it, and he inviteth Sir George to fee him in bis City of St. Andrews, to receive the Leafes of the Tyths promised, all now perfected, valid, and according to Law sufficient. Whilst Sir George is here detained, Archembald the Treasurer by other Letters, for matters of love, is inticed to Dundee; But nothing could make the Captain of the Guards leave The King amidft his folitary Walks in his Park his Charge. of Faulkland confidering of what a tedious Train he was relieved, and how fuddenly occasion might turn her bald scalp, if presently he took not hold of her, resolveth to accomplish by Stratagem, what the Factions of his Nobles could not perform by force. It is delightful to understand every particular circumstance in the progress of the actions of Princes. Upon this resolution he directeth the Forrester of the Park to give advertisement to such Gentlemen about, who kept Hounds, the next morning to attend him, for he would early have Cc

his Game. He suppeth sooner than his custom was, entertaining the Captain of the Guards with more than usual ceremonies and representations of the next mornings sport, withall inviting him to go to his rest, the Night being short about the Summer solstice. The Waiters all shifted and the Court husht, shutting his Chamber door, in the apparel of one of his Grooms, unperceiv'd he passed the Guard to the Stable; where with two who attended him, with spair Horses he posted to Sterlin, where by the Queens intelligence he was ex-

pected in the Castle.

When the certainty of this escape was noised abroad, many Noblemen repair to Sterlin, some by Letters sent unto them, others at the rumour of his evalion, that in a little time he found him fafe and far from any danger again to be furprized, the Earls of Arguyl, Atholl, Glencarn, Monteeth, Huntley, The Lords Graham, Drummond, Levingstonn, Sainclaire, Lindsay, Evandale, Ruthen, Maxwell, Simple, the Earl of Eglintoun, Rothess, James Beatonn Arch-bishop of st. Andrews, the Deviler of his escape. The Earl of Angus full of mis-giving thoughts, with many of his Friends, was also on his way to Sterlin; but Proclamations being made against him, Discharging him from all Offices and publick functi. ons, and being by an Herauld forbidden with his friends and followers to come near the Court by some Miles, under pain of Treafon: either moved by inward terrours, or love of the Peace of his Countrey, turned back to Linlithgow, where two days he attended News of the Kings pleasure, which at last was declared. That neither he nor none of his should presume by some Myles to approach his residence. The more particular favours were, That the Earl should confine himself beyond the River of Spay in the North, whilft his Brother, Sir George Dowglass, should render himself Prisoner in the Castle of Edenburgh, and there remain during the Kings pleasure. When the Dowglasses had refused these offers, they are cited to answer according to Law in a Parlament to be holden in September at Edinburgh.

Before the day of appearing the Earl of Angus accompanied with an able Train of his Friends and Followers essayeth to enter the Town of Edenburgh, and there attend the comming of the King; but by the Lord Maxwell, and the L. of Lochinvarre, who in the Kings name had invested the Town, he is kept out, and the King with an unexspected suddenness, with two thousand men comming from Sterlin, he removed. The Earl not appearing at the appointed day, is by Decree of Parlament attainted and sorfeited, with his brother Sir George Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas his uncle, Alexander

Drummond of Carnock, and others.

The points of which they were to be accused, were, The

as the Lords did, never to intercede nor request for any of them: and in disgrace of the Barl of Angus, Henry stuart who had married the Queen his wise, was created Lord;

Meffan.

The Dowglaffer having all favour denyed them, being openly declared Enemys to the King and Countrey, commit all hostility (the last refuge of desperate men) on their enemies bounds, Caust-land and Cranstoun are burned, they ravage even to the Gates of Edenburgh, the harmless people fuffering for the faults of the great; under shadow of their followers all robberies and oppressions brack forth, and by whomfoever committed, are laid to their charge. The King will not hear of them in any other terms than Oppressours and common Robbers. In their defence they fortifie their Castle of Tantallon with the readiest provision taken from the nearest adjacent bounds. In October the King raiseth a great company of Souldiours, with great Ordinance, and other Engine of War brought from the Castle of Dumbar, Tantallon is befieged, but proveth impregnable; and David Faulconer the General of the Ordinance at their removing is flain. A Commission is sent to the Earl of Bothwell, as the Kings Lieutenant, to invade with Fire and Sword in all places the Donglasses, which he, either out of human compasfion, or that he knew wife Statef-men should extenuate the faults of others rather than aggravate them, refused to accept. But the Earl of Arguyl and Lord Hume accepted that charge, profecute them where they might be apprehended. tillafter much mifery and night-wandring at home, they were constrained with Alexander Dummond of Carnock, who had been partaker of their misfortunes by his confanguinity with the Earls Mother, who was Daughter to the Lord Drummond, to fly into England, where they were charitably received, and honourably entertained by King Harry the eight.

Now are the Offices and Lands of the Dowglasses disposed upon; the Arch-Bishop of Glasgow, Gaven Dumbar is made Chancelour, Robert Bartoun, who was in especial favor with the King, Treasurer, great Customer General of the Artillery and Mines, and other their Charges are given unto o

hers.

The King of England intending a War against the Emperour

rour Charles the fifth, sendeth Embassadours to Scotland for a certain time to treat a peace, and if it were possible to reconcile the Dowglasses with the King. Five yerrs truce was refolved upon; but for the Dowglasses, the King would hearken to no offers; onely Alexander Drummond by the intercession of Robert Bartonn, and the Embassadours, had liberty to return home. When the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Murrey, who had full power to conclude a Truce, had met the other Commissioners upon the Borders, the factious great men and ranck Ryders there, put all in such a confusion by urging difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any articles or certain conclusions: which the King took in so evil a part, that divining from what head this interruption fprung, he committed fundry Noblemen to the Castle of Edenburgh, till they gave hostages, and secured the borders from invasion or being invaded. In the Moneth of June following with a great power he visited these bounds, executing Justice upon all Oppressours, Theeves and Out-Laws. In Emsdale eight and fourty notorious Riders are hung on growing Trees, the most famous of which was John Arm. Strong; others he brought with him to Edenburgh for more publick execution and example, as William Cockburn of Henderland, Adam Scot of Tufhelam, named King of Theeves.

The year 1530. the King instituted the College of Justice; before it was ambulatory, removing from place to place by Circuits; Suits of Law were peremptorly decided by Baylies, Sheriffs, and other Judges; when any great and notable cause offered it self, it was adjudged Soveraignly by the Kings Council, which gave free audience to all the Subjects. The power and privileges of this College was immediately consirmed by Pope Clement the seventh.

In this Court are fifteen Judges ordinary, eight of them being spiritual persons, of the which the most antient is President, and seven Temporal men: The Chancellour of the Realm when he is present is above the President. There are also four Counsellours extraordinary, removable at the

Princes pleasure.

This institution is after that Order of Justice which is administred in Paris, first instituted by Philip the fourth, the

French King the year 1286.

The King about this time storeth his Arsenals with all fort of Arms; the Castles of Edenburgh, Sterlin, Dumbartonn, and Blackness, are repaired and furnisht with Ordnance and Amounition.

Whilst no certain Truce is concluded between the Realms of England and Scotland, the Earl of Angus worketh in this interim

interim lowith the King of England, that Sir Eaward Darcey is fent to the Borders; who when his folicitation for reltoring the Earl, at the Scotish Court had taken no effect, yea had been scorned, after he had staied at Berwick, with the Garrifoned Souldiers, and some selected companies out of Northumberland and Westmerland maketh a Road into Scotland; Coldingham, Dunglas, and adjacent Villages they burn, ravage the Countrey towards Dunce. Some Scottish Ships and Vessels were also at this time taken by Sea. When a reason was for ght of this invalion in a ceffation of Arms, and calm of Truce; They require the Dowglasses may be restored to their antient inheritances, and what soever had been withheld from them, and that Cannabie (a poor Abbacy) be rendred to the English, as appertaining of old to the Crown of England. The Earl of Murray being declared Lieutenant maketh head against them: but the English dayly increasing in number, and his companies not being sufficient to make good against so many and large incursions, the power of Scotland is divided into four Quarters every one of which for the durance of four. ty daies by turns taketh the defence of the Countrey. English finding by this intercourse of new Souldiers the War to be prolonged, would have gladly accepted of Peace, but they discained to sue for it to the scots: it was thought expedient that the Freuch, a Friend then to both, should be a Me. diatour to reconcile them, whereupon, after an Ambassador had come from France, Commissioners first meet at Newcastle and after at London , James Colvil of Easter Weyms, Adam Otterburn of Redhall, William Stuart Bishop of Aberdeen, the Ab-These conclude a Peace To continue between bot of Kinlos. the two Realms, during the two Princes lives, and one year after the decease of him who should first depart this life.

About this time the secrets of the Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Authority beginning to be laid open to the view of the World, the politick Government of Kingdomes began to suffer in the alteration and discovery. The Lady Katherine daughter to Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, and Sifter to the Mother of Charles the fifth Emperour, had been married to Arthur Prince of Wales, eldest Sonne to Henry the seventh King of England, he dying, by the dispenfation of Pope Julius the second, her Father in Lawgave heragain in Marriage to Henry his other Son: the Brother of Arthur. This Queen though fruitful of children, and often a Mother, brought none forth that long enjoyed life, and came to any perfection of growth, except one onely Daughter Mary. Her Husband either out of spleen against the Emperour Charles, or desire of male children, or other Causes known to himself, pretended great scruples in his conscience,

mould

mould make himself and the world believe, that his marriage was not lawfull. After deliberation with his Churchmen, whom he constrained to be of his mind, he kept not longer company with his Queen; his Churchmen used all their eloquence to make the Queen accept of a Divorce, which she altogether refused, and had her recourse to the Pope, who recals the cause to himself. At Rome, whilst in the consistory, the case is made difficult, and the matter prolonged. King Henry impatient of delaits, and amorous divorceth from his own Queen and marrieth Anne Bullen 1533.

Then the Pope with his whole Cardinals gave out their Sentence, That it was not lawful for him by his own authority, to separate himself from his wife; that his marriage with Katharine was most lawful, not to be questioned, and that under pain of Excommunication he should adhere unto

her.

King Henry well experienced in the great affairs of the World, considering how the threatnings and thunders of the Bishops of Rome, even in these antient and innocent times when they were believed and reverenced, in his Kingdom produced never great effects, thought them to no purpose in a time when a Doctrine was publisht to the World, embraced and believed of numbers, by which they were contemned and scorned: upon this and other grounds he refuseth to obey, and the Pore continueth his menacing.

This diforder and boldness of the King of England moved the Emperour and the Pope to try if they could win the King of Scotland to arise in arms against his Vncle King Henry. The Emperour ellayeth it under pretence of other business of great importance. For having given way to new opinions in Religion amongst his Countreymen of Germany, and finding them mounted to that height as to have produced the effects he defired, fby this division laying a foundation to turn the Imperial Crown Hereditary to his own House, which, Germany being all of one mind and undistracted, he could never have brought to pass he compelleth the Bishop of Rometo condescend to a general Council or Assembly of the Clergy of Europe, the only and foveraign remedie to cure difealed minds, and accord different opinions: but he knew well that by the Church of Rome, men would be delegated to this meeting, turbulent, and so far from pacifying tumults began, that instead of Water they would apply Oyl and Wood to these flames, turn opinions before disputable, irreconciliable, and leave matters worse than they found them. Having implored the aid and affiltance of the Potentates about him to the fetting forward of fo pious and holy a work, he sendeth Goddescallo Errico (a Sicilian) for greater secrecie by Ireland to the King of Scotland.

This Embassadour for a token of that affection the Emperour his Master carryed to the person and virtues of King James, presenteth him with the Order of the Golden-fleece 1534, with solemn Protestations for the observing of these antient Leagues and Confederacies contracted between the Princes his Masters Predecessours and the Kings of Scotland,

to continue ever amongst themselves.

His other instructions were Plaints of the wrongs done to bis Aunt Katharine, most injustly repudiate and forsaken by a King forfaken of God and abhorred of men. The marriage of Ann Bullen should wound deeply King James, it being likely by ber Succession he should be barred of bis Right to the crown of England: The Emperour by his Ambassadour exposulating the wrongs of bis Aunt, had gained nothing, but that for his sake Shee was the worse entertained. To make more strong and lasting the Emperours friendship with King James, he (if he pleased) would make bim an offer and give him the choice of three Ladies, three Maries, all of the Imperial Stem: Mary of Austria the Emperours Sifter, the Widow of Lovis King of Hungary; Mary of Portugall, the Daughter of his Sister Eleonara of Austria: Mary of England the Daughter of Katharine and King Henry. And would undertake the performance of this last, either by consent of her Father, or by main force. The greatest but last of his instructions was that to suppress the Heresies of the time he would concur with the Emperour for the convocating a General Council, and obviate the calamities then threatning the Christian Religion.

The King with great cheerfulness and many thanks, that the Emperour entertained him with such respect, and held him worthy so fair and Royal Allyance, and the participation of affairs of such importance and moment, received

this Embaffage.

For the Council, providing it were a general Council lawfully convocated by the Emperour and Christian Kings, as the first Councils were wont, free and holy (as nothing is more holy than a general convocation of Christians) the most charitable and quiet of the Clergy, and such who would pacific matters, not the most zealous and fiery Spirits, or men corrupted by rewards being delegated unto it, being premonish to f the time and place, he would apply his will unto his, assist him, thither send his best Oratours and most convenient Church-men. That if a true Council could not be obtained, every Prince should reform the Errors of Doctrine and faults of the Clergy within his own Dominions.

The proceedings of his Uncle were grievous unto him, being a man altogether thralled to his own opinions. For the Good of the Christian Religion and Peace of Europe, it were expedient that all her Princes were united together in amity and love, and their Arms directed against the common enemy the Turk. For himself he would be Mediatour to reconcile the Emperour and his Uncle, endeavour to recall him to the love of his Wife, nor by any persuasions to be induced to condescend to ought prejudicial to Queen Katharine.

The three Ladies were every one in the superlative worthy, especially Mary of England, for that great reason of uniting the Isle of Great Britain, but she was not in her own power, nor in the power of the Emperour, that he could be stow her upon whom he pleased. That to ravish her out of the hands of her Father would be, beside the danger of the Enterprize, a breach of Divine and humane Lawes.

It was not safe for Paris that he preferred one of the three Goddesses to the other two, for prixing those three (that the Emperour
might know how dearly he respected and earnestly affected his affinity) there remained a fourth Lady neer in blood to the Emperour,
Isabella Daughter of Christian King of Denmark, and Isabella the Emperours own Sister, whom, besides her matchless virtues, for the vicinity of the Nation to his, and the conformity of
their harmless humours, he made choice to be Queen of his affetions and Dominions.

Godscallo answered this last, That a match with Lady Isabella of Denmark could not with the Emperours credit be brought to pass, because she was promised already to another, Frederick count Palatine, and the marriage might be accomplished before

news came to the Emperour of the Kings election.

tween the two Kingdoms was renewed at Rochell.

This choice of the Kings was but an evalion, for Sir Thomas Arefkin of Brichen Secretarie, and David Beatonn Abbot of Arbroth, under pretence of renewing the League between France and Scotland long before had been directed to France about a Marriage with the eldest Daughter of King Francis, which John Duke of Albany projected when the League be-

Henry King of England had now renounced all obedience from the Bishop of Rome, and thorough his whole Dominions abrogated his authority, and Paul the third after his assuming the Papacy, set forwards by the Emperour and his Cardinals, who thought either to recover England or burnt it up by a Foreign or civil war, never left thundring against him. But after John Fisher Bishop of Rochester was beheaded (a man imprisoned for adhering to the Pope, then for his persecution, and that the king might carry him the greater respect, made Cardinal) the whole Conclave stir the Pope against King Henry. And full of Grief and rage remonstrate what danger would tollow their Order if this Example unpunisht should have way. They maintained the Papal power against all Princes, which now for fear of their Lives they would be

forced to turiake, onto proceed with great improviners and neglect, if by any fecular powers they might be called in Jurigment and embrue Staffolds with a bein blood. The Pope, though highly provoke, parted not from his Resolution, yet used a fort of moderation; he threatnest still to let fall the blow, in the mean rime holding his hand.

Thus to give fatistaction to his Court, the formed a Procels against King Hospi and a most severe sentence, but abstained from the publication of it during his pleasure; Secretly sending many copies of it to those Princes he thought could be useful to his Designs when occasion should serve, and he proceed with a constant rumor of the Bull shortly to

be put in execution and published in art and so two

Amongh many interested in wrongs by the King of England; considering there was none comparable to the Nation and King of Scotland, he directesh hister John Antonio Compaggio; This Legate findesh King Jamerat Faulkland 22. February 1535, and here with many Geremonies and Apostolical Benedictions, delivereth him a Cap and a Sword, confecuted the Night of the Nativity of our Saviour: which the fame of his valent and many Christian virtues had moved his Master to remunerate him with. Also (faith the Original) that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighboring Prince against

whom the Sword was forgued.

The Popes Letter in most submissive stile contained. A Complaint for the death of John Bilhop and Cardinall of Rochefice sufferably taken away by the hand of an Hangeman. The Calamities of England occasioned by the Kings Divorce from Kathatine of Spain, and his Marriage with Anne Bullen: That Since the Roman Church bad received great difgrace and a deadly wound, andby patience procured more and more wrongs from the King of England, She was constrained touse a fearing Iron. For the application of which She badrecourfe to bir Majefty, a Prince for his Ancestants picty and his own renowned. His aid, maintenance, protettion foe implored & Since King Henry was a Defpifer. a Scorner, One who fet at manght the cenfures of the Church: an Heretick, Shismatick, a Chamoful and Shaweless Adulterer. publick and profest bomicide Mursberer, a Sacrilegious Person. a Church-Robber, a Rebel guilty of lefe-Majefty divine, outragious, many andin mereble water a Fellow, a Criminal : By all Laws berefore juf-19 to be turned out of bio Throne: The King of Scotland for the Defence of the Church would undentake fomthing worthy a Christian King and bimfelf; be would endeavour to fupprefs Herefie, defend the Catholick faith against those whom the jaflice of almighty God, and judgments were now prepared and already ready to be denounced.

The King kindly entertaining the Legate, answered the Pope with much regret for the estate and stubbornness of the King of England. Who would not be firuck with Pirty that a King who late amongst Christian Princes was honoured with the title of Defender of the Faith, should be obnoxious to fo many crimes, that now amongst Princes he could scarce be reputed a Christian? This compassion was common to him with others, but he by a necessity of Nature, and neernels of bloodfelt a more piercing forrow; he should leave no means untryed to recal his Uncle to the obedience of the Church: and though by his Embassadours, he had once or twice went about the same, but in vain, he would study a way how face to face he might give him his best counsel, and remonstrate how much good he would do the Christian World and himself by returning again to the Church. Mean while he requested him not to be heady, forward nor rash in executing the Sentence against his Uncle, which would but obdure him in his separation.

King James not having lost all hopes of his Uncle, directeth the Lord Arskin to England, to acquaint him with the Empercurs and Popes Embassages; and to take his Counsel about a marriage with the Duke of Vandosms Daughter whom the French King had offered to him, his own Daughter being weak and sickly. In this Embassage there was a complaint against the Londoners, who in their passage to the Island sisting, popled the Coasts of Orknay and the adjacent Islands: with a Request that King Henry mould not succour the Lubeckers a-

gainst the Duke of Hulftein.

The King of England not to prove inferiour to the Emperour and Pope in conferring honours upon his Nephew, admitteth him to the Fraternity of the Garter, which he delivered to the Lord Areskin his Embassadour. And thereafter dispatched William Lord Howard, brother to the Earl of Nor. folk (as if that name were a sufficient Scar-crow to the Popes Sword and the Emperonrs Golden fleece) to Scotland, who made fuch hafty journeys that he prevented the News of his comming, and at unawares found the King at Sterlin. The Substance of his embassage was, That the Kings of England and Scotland might have an interview at Tork, at which meeting the King of Scotland should be declared Duke of Tork, and General Lieutenant of the Kingdom of England. That his Master having instructions of the Alliances offered him by neighbour Princes, did offer to his own and his Counsels, judgements if they could find a more fit, than to contract a marriage with his Daughter, which might be easily perfected if his Master and King James could condescend upon some few points.

When

When the King had taken these Propositions into deliberation, the Church-men suspecting if this meeting and match had way, the King would embrace the opinions of the new Reformers, fet all their wirs to overthrow it. Successfors to the Crown, covering their claim and interest. argued, That to marry the Lady Mary of England who for ma. ny years would not be mariagable was not a right way to continue his race by procreation of children, and that his impatience of living alone, would not be much abated by marying a Child. King Henry projected this mariage to no other end than to hinder bim from better Allyances, or to facilitate an entry to the kingdom. That when a Prince would take advantage of any neighbor Prince. it was more safely done by alliance than open force. more fafely King Henry, being a wary Prince, never meant to mary his Daughter at all as long as himself lived, but to keep her at Home with him bearing many Princes in hand to Same him from Dangers both at home and abroad: which counsel was practised lately by the Duke of Burgundy.

Most oppose neither to the meeting of the two Kings, nor to the Alliance, but to the place of their meeting, which seemed unto them of no small importance being in the heart of England, and amidst the most martial people of that Na-

tion.

They require the two Kings might have their interview at Newcastle, this place, when they meet, being most commodious for furnishing all necessaries by Ships; That the number of their Trayn should be agreed upon, as one thousand, which none of th, two Kings should exceed. That the time should be at the Feast of Saint Michael the Arch-Angel between the Harvest and the Vinter, which would halt the consummation of the Ceremonies, and not suffer the Kings to prolong time, but invite their return to their own chief and principal Cities. When it was declared to the Lord Howard, that the confent of the Nobles of the Kingdom obtained, the enterview at the Feast of Michaelmas at Newcastle might be condescended unto; he would neither accept of the place nor time, His Master having already (as matter he had never put in question) made great preparations for this interview at York, that he would think his offers slighted and an affront put upon him, if any excuses were alleged to the contrary: Thus with some bravadoes to the Council he departed.

The King to give satisfaction to his Uncle of his Councils proceedings with the Lord Howard, sendeth after him Sir Adam Otterburn of Red-hall, who laieth the fault of his not appearing upon the Lord Howard, complaining, That he menaced the Counsellours, and would have forced their votes; that he was a great Friend to Sir George Dowglasse and other Rebels, who convoyed him to Scotland, and accompanyed him

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back again. It was against the credit and honour of free born Princes to be threatned, what was friendly begun should friendly continue and end: Princes should not be constrained, especially in mat-

ters which were not of Debt but benevolence.

Amidst these importunities and solicitations King James with five well manned Ships taketh the Seas, giving out a Voyage for Frances and the French record it was his first adventure to come to them: but it is more likely this proceeded from Policy of State, to try the affections and demeanour of the great ones of his kingdome in his absence, rather than any intended voyage towards For ainers. For with this Fleet he arriveth at Orkenay, there in some Forts placeth garrisons, fails about the Islands of sky and Lewes, surprizeth the chief of the Clannes of those Highland Illanders, whom he fent for Hostages to the Castles of Dumbartonn and Edenburgh. And when by the skill of one Alexander Lyndsay his Pilote, he had founded the remotest Rocks of his Kingdom. he was driven by storms to take Land at Saint Ninians neer Whitehorn in Galloway. This Voyage bread great fear in those. Islanders and Savages, and brought long Peace and quietnels to those Countreys thereafter. At his Return to Edenburgh for Disorders committed or surmised in his absence. most part of the great Men neer the Borders are charged to enter their persons in Ward during the Kings pleasure. Wal. ter Scot of Balclough is committed to the Castle of Edenburgh, the Lord Hume to the Castle of Down, Farnehast to Faulkland the Laird of Johnstoun and Mark Car to Dundee: and others elsewhere. He knew the common Riders never made incursions without either the command or tollerance of these Superiours.

The remote High-lands and Borderers made peaceable by the incarcerations of the Chiefs of the Clannes and Families there commanding, he may when occasion is offered in perfon visite any neighbour Prince or State. To second his former Embassadours in their suit in France he had sent the Earl of Murray, William Stuart Bishop of Aberdeen, with others: and King Francis in regard of the indisposition of his Daughter Magdalen, had made an offer to them of his

nearest kins-woman.

The Kings mind having been long troubled with youthful thoughts by the many matches offered him; and thinking marriages contracted and trusted to the eyes of others, one way or other deficient, resolveth to go in person and woe for himself. Upon this resolution he imbarked at Leith, concealing the intention of his Voyage; many suppose he maketh for England to pacify his Uncle, for many wished the same: Whilst he is on the Ocean, the Winds

contrarying his course, a violent Tempest separating his Ships, the Pilote asketh him to what Coast he should direct his Course; To any thou best likest (answered the King) except towards England; the storm encreasing and sleep shutting up the Kings eyes, these who accompanyed him, command the Pilote to turn sails again for Scotland, and not struggle with the pittiless Element for matters which might be delayed, and a little time could not turn worse: so when the King awoke, he found himself neer his own Harbours upon the Forth, and was so highly displeased with the Authors of his return that he never pardoned them: the fault was laid on Sir James Hamiltonn, and to stir him more against this Man, there wanted not who said, His obedience to his Prince was dissembled, that he accompanyed his Masser to no other end in his voyage than to cross his

intentions so far as was in his power.

The season thereafter being more fit for Navigation, he ascendeth again his Ships at Kirkcaldie, and with a prospe! rous wind the tenth day after arrived at Deep in Normandy; The Earls of Arran, Arguel, Rosbefs, Arroll, Lords Flamin, Boyd, attended him, with many Barons and Knights: the Earl of Murray, young Lennox and Calfiles, the Lord Are. skin, and Abbot of Arbroth expected him at Paris; but he, preventing the fame of his comming, with a small Travn holdeth his way to Vandosm, to see the Lady Mary of Burbon, all which way one John Tennant personating the Lord of the Company, he passed undescryed. But come to Vandolm, whether the Lady had a Letter for the same from David Beatons, or that by matching the faces of one of those Strangers with a Pourtraid she had of King lames, in likeness (as she said) he was found out, and challenged by the Lady of that fault, which was easily confess'd and pardoned? He found her very beautiful, and eminent in all Princely excellencies, but bethinking how he having choice of three Princesses, all Daughters of Kings, if he should fix his affection on this Lady at the first interview, he should be obnoxious to the indignation of the other, he returned as he came towards Ronen, where his Nobles attended him. and having understood King Francis was to give the Emperour Battel in Provence, quitting his Retinue, he posted towards him. The Daulphine meeteth him at the Chappel between Tarray and St. Sophorin in the Countrey of Lions. King Francis receiveth him with as much honour as could be defired, and convoyeth him to Paris 5 the Peers of the kingdom haste from all quarters hither to entertain this Stranger Prince, and the Court is changed into an Academy of Knightly exercise, where King lames proveth inferi-

our to none in teats of Arms. Magdalen the Kings eldest Daughter is his Mistress, a Lady fair, young, of a lovely countenance, and comely behaviour, above all others of the kingdom. The Lady Margarite her younger Sifter (who after was marryed to the Duke of savoy) is offered to him, by reason of the tender and weak disposition of her Sifter: but Magdalen by the glaunces of her Princely Woer reobtaining her health (her body as it were following the Temperature of her Spirit, or that it appeared to her felf and her Father so) King James continuing in his first resolution, the marriage is contracted between them, an hundred thousand Crowns of the Sun being promifed in Dowry, besides thirty thousand Franks of yearly pension during the life of King Iames; the jointure affured to her by the King of Scotland, was all the lands possessed by any former Queen, the Earldoms of Strathern and Fyfe with the Palace of Faulkland, and other lands of the best and most certain revenue.

Thus Anno in the Church of Nostre-Dame in Paris, the King of Scotland maryed the Lady Magdalen in prefence of her Father, seaven Cardinals, the King of Navarr,

many great Dukes and Barons.

King Francis after the Solemnities of this Marriage, having Piccardy and Piedmont then over-run by the Imperialifts; and King James fearing he might fuffer wrong in his absence from the King of England, with assurance of mutual Amity, part from other in the end of April, and from New-baven the Queen with her husband the 29. of May arrives at the Port of Leith; it is reported that after she put her foot on the Shore upon her knees the kiffed the ground, Praying for all happiness, to the Countrey and people. Never Queen in so short a time was more beloved of her Husband, nor sooner made conquest of the hearts of her Subjects: Nor was their greater hopes conceived of any alliance than of this, nor greater joy did ever arise for those hopes, but as in the life of man there is ever remaining more of bitter than fweet : lo were these contentments but Shadows, matched with the real Sorrow that the death of that young Lady brought forth. For the lived not many weeks after her Arrivall in scotland, when of a Feaver, which she contracted in June, she departed this life in Inly: She was buried with the greatest mourning Scotland ever till that time was participant of, in the Church of Holy-rood-bouse neer King James the second.

These last honours to the dead Queen and funeral pomp finished, the King (desirous of Succession) hath yet his thoughts wandring in France; Mary of Burbon daughter to Charls Duke of Vandosm, being frustrate of her Royal hopes,

had

had not onely turned religious, but was dead of displeasure. Whilst he disported himself at the Court of France, he had been acquainted with a Lady rich in all excellencies, who next Magdalen had the power of his affections, Mary of Lorrain Sister to Francis, Daughter to Rhene, Duke of Guize, and Widdow of the Duke of Longueville: Her he thinketh for hir Stemm, healthful complexion, fertility ( for she had been a mother) and other fortunes, worthy of his love. But to try her affection towards him, he directeth David Beatoun his late paranymph, and the Lord Maxwell to France. Whilst they traffique this Marriage, many false accusations ( as Plots laid against his person) are intended one after another at the Court, amongst which two are remarkable for their notable calumny.

John eldest Son to the Lord Forbess, a young Gentleman chief of his name, hardy and valorous, but evil brought up. and therefore easily suspect to be capable of fin, had for a Servant or companion, and ordinary sharer of his pleasures, one named strachan, a man come of the dreg of the people. and perfectly wicked. This man after much familiarity, and some secret service and attendance, to satiate his insatiable defire, defired earnestly something from the Master of Forbels, which he passionately refused to give him, upon which, carryed away with rage and malice, he not onely renounced his friendship and service, but betook himself to the Service of his Enemy the Earl of Huntley: by whose advice he forgeth a malitious Plot to overthrow him. compals their defign they accuse the Master of Forbes to have had once an intention and Mind to kill the King, that the Dowglasses might be restored to their wonted honors and antient possessions. By price and prayers witnesses are procured to prove this against him, and convict him, or at the least to leave him suspected and taxed with this Treason. Though this crime was not fufficiently and clearly proved, yet wasthe Master of Forbes indicted, and convicted by an Affize, for having conspired the Kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quarter'd, and his Quarters fet aloft upon the Gates of Edenburgh.

This Gentlemans death proveth how dangerous the Society and company of the wicked is to any; for afcending the fatal Scaffold the justifyed his innocency of what was laid to his Charge, but confessed the guilt of the Laird of Drummes bloud by the justice of God brought him to that end. His Father the Lord Forbess was upon suspition kept long after in the Castle of Edenburgh. The King when he could not a mend what was past, testifyed he was grieved at the death of this Nobleman; for he banished stracken, because he had so

long

long concealed the Treaton of Forbels, filence in a matter importing no less than the life of a Prince, being reckoned equal to the Treason, he made his second brother one of his Domesticks, restoring him to the estate which was forfeited.

This thunderclap was immediately followed by another, for the quality of the person, and strangeness of the crime deplorable, but more for the horrour and terrour of the pu-

nibment.

Jane Dowglas fifter to Archembald Eatlof Angus, the Widdow of John Lyon Lord Glammes, with her Husband Archembald Campbell of Reepneeth, her young Son the Lord Glammes, and an old Priest, were brought to Edenburgh, committed, and accused that they should have possoned the King. Their accuser was William Lyon a kinsman of the late Lord Glammes. This treason had no probability of truth among such who knew the accused, being persons who lived far from the Court in their solitary mansions, seldom or never almost seeing the King. Nevertheless their accusations were believed, and strict command given to the Judges to dispatch their Process.

William Lyon aggravating the case represented to the King the antient faults of the Family of the Dowglassis, committed against his Predecessors, the particular wrongs of Earl Archembald, now stirring the English against him, and ravaging his Rorders; That he should believe, he not being able to be restored to his first estate by prayers and solicitations of Neighbour Princes, nor by open sorce, naw set on work his last engines to come to his end, though it were with the life of his Soveraign; That in so served and dangerous a Plot he could not use but his neerest kindred; a Woman, and his own Sister, might attempt such a mischief, her sex and other qualities making her less suspect to have access to

bis person.

Suppose cleer proofs could not be found against her, the whole race of the Dowglasses should be extirpate, being a Linage onely fertile in bringing forth Monsters of Rebellion. That by sparing her life, and suffering her to escape, he should afford her time, ticence and power to execute what she but now (perhaps) had intended.

The King, not knowing the man's particular hatred against this Lady (for some write, He did in form against her in revenge that she refused to marry him, giving her self to another) suffred

the Process to be concluded.

Some of the Judges would have referred her to the Kings clemency till a farther tryall of the Witnesses might be had, upon whose testimony the Process did depend, it being a safer way in Judgement to absolve the guilty, than condemn

the innocent. But the most part gave her over to the Assi zers; the better part of which being in voices fewer, the greater, who neither respecting conscience within them, nor shame with the present age and posterity, nor the Supreme justice of Heaven, find this poor Lady guilty, and she is condemned to be burnt alive. Her sentence was executed the fifth day after the beheading of the Master of Forbesi on the Castle hill of Edenburgh, in sight of her Husband. either out of Revenge or Fear, after this tragical end of his Lady, feeking to fave himself by escape out of the Prison. whilft he came over the Wall by the shortness of the Cable was dashed against the Rock, and tound dead. Though the tender years of the Lord Glammes, her Son, proved his innocency, he remained prisoner in the Castle till after the The old Prieft, when after torture, nothing Kings death. could be proved against was set at liberty; William Lyon, the author of this calumny, was banished the Countrey, which justifyed the Ladies integrity, and verifyed than however Princes love to find out Treason, they hate the Informers except upon cleer grounds.

Upon the like suspitions Droomlenrigge and Hemps-Field antient Barons, having challenged others, had leave to try the verity by Combate, the lists were designed by the King (who was a Spectator and Umpire of their Valour) at the Court of of the Pallace of Holy-rood-house. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like antient Palladines, and after many enterchanged blows to the disadvantage of their Casks, Corslets and Vantbraces, when the one was become breathless, by the weight of his arms and thunder of his blowes, and the other (who was short sighted) had broken his ponderous Sword, the King, by Heraulds, caused separate them, with disadvantage to neither of these Champions, and the verity which was found, was, that they dared both

fight in close Arms.

The Abbot of Arbroth, and the Lord Maxwell by many enterchanged letters full of Princely love, had affured the King and the Lady Mary of Lorrain, and articles being agreed upon, to the great content of the French, they were espoused by Proctors, as is the costome amongst Princes, with great triumph in the City of Paris, in the presence of the French King and many Peers; after which solemnity Monsieur d'Annabault Admiral of France, accompanied herto New baven in the beginning of the Moneth of June 1538. where she embarqued, and with many French Ships, when she had been tost on the Seas, came to Fysses-ness, where at Cayrel she was attended by the Noblemen, and the King, who consumated the mariage in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews in July.

Nothing more linketh the affections of the marryed than children: the first year the Queen answereth her husbands hopes, and in S. Andrews was delivered of a Son, who was named James; the Arch bishop of St. Andrews and Earlof Arran being his God-Fathers, and the Queen the King Mother his Godmother 1539. in Febr. thereafter she was crowned Queen of Scotland in the Abby Church of Holy-rood-house by the Ab. bot of Arbroth; at which time Margarite the old Queen fal. ling fick at Methven in few daies departed, and was buryed in the Charterhouse of St. Johnstown near the Tomb of King James the first. The King her Son, with all the Nobility, and Gentry being present at her funerals, which were celebrated in most solemn and pompous manner. after James Beatoun Arch-bishop, a man of great age, followed this Lady to the other World: he had provided Succeffors to his Benefices, and his Arch-bishops See to David Beatonn, afterwards Cardinal, whom the King accepted and admitted without contestation.

The kingdom now began to be divided in opinions of Religion, they which held the helm of State, labouring in vain ro reconcile them; the King was fore perplexed and uncertain what course to follow; suppress them he could not; to give way to them, without shaking the strongest beams of the policy of his Kingdom, seem'd unto him impossible; his privy Counsellours being more of his antient Servants, than Nobles or Church men (of which many were piping through these sleecked clouds of ignorance) as they favored gave their opinions, some one way, some another, and a freedome of speech being given, one of them as they were in his chamber

together, spake to him to this purpose.

Sir, amongst the many blessings your Subjects enjoy under this your Government, this is not the least, that for the Weal of your Majesty, and the publick good of the Kingdome, the meanest of your Subjects may freely open his mind and declare his opi-

nion unto you bis Soveraign.

And if ever there was a time in which grave, good and sound counsel should be delivered to your Majesty, it is this, and the difficulties of the Common-wealth do now require it. Nor ever in matters of advice and consultation, can we embrace and follow what is most reasonable, and what according to Laws, Justice, and Equity should be, but what necessity driveth us unto, and what is most convenient for the present time to be, and what we may well and fairly accomplish and bring to pass.

The Estate of your Kingdome is troubled with diversity of opinions concerning Religion; It is to be wished that the one onely true Religion were in the hearts of all your Subjects,

T fince

[ since diversity of opinions of Religion and beresies are the very punishment of God Almighty upon men for their horrible vices and roaring sins. And when Men for ake his fear and true obedience, God abandoneth them to their own opinions and fantasies in Religion; out of which arise Partialities, Factions, Divisions, Strife, intestine Discords, which burst forth into civil war, and in short time bring Kingdoms and Common-wealths to their last periods] But matters arising to such a height and disorder, as by all appearance, they are like to advance in this Kingdom, the number of the Sectaries dayly increasing, without dissembling my thoughts to your Majesty. The preservation of the People being the Supream and principal law which God Almighty bath enjoyned to all Princes.

I bold it more expedient to give place to the exercise of both religions, than under pretence and shadow of them to suffer the common Peace of your Subjects to be torn in pieces. What can wisdom (Sir) advise you to do with these Separatists? Either they must be tolerated for a time, or they must altogether be re-

moved, and that by death or banishment.

So soon as a Prince beginneth to spoil, bantsh, kill, burn his people, for matters abstract from sense and altogether spiritual, he becometh as it were a Plague unto them. It is an Errour of State in a Prince, for an opinion of Piety to condemn to death the adherers to new doctrine. For, the constancy and patience of those who voluntarily suffer all temporal miseries and death it self for matters of faith, stirr up and invite numbers who at first and before they had suffered were ignorant of their faith and doctrine, not only to favour their cause but to embrace their opinions, Pitty and commisseration opening the Gates. Thus their belief spreadeth it self abroad, and their Number dayly encreaseth.

It is no less errour of State to banish them. Banished Men are so many Enemies abroad, ready upon all occasions to invade their native Countrey, to trouble the peace and tranquility of your

Kingdome.

To take Arms against Sectaries and Separatists will be a great Enterprize, a matter hard and of many dangers; Religion cannot be preached by arms; the first Christians detested that form of proceedings; force and compulsion may bring forth Hypocrites; not true Christians. If there be any Heresie amongst your people, this wound is in the Soulz our Souls being Spiritual Substances upon which fire and iron cannot work, They must be overcome by spirituall Armes; Love the men and pitty their errours.

Who can lay upon a man a necessity to believe that which he will not believe, or what he will believe, or doth believe, not to believe. No Prince hath such Power over the Souls and thoughts of men,

as he hath over their bodies. Now to ruin and extirpate all those Sectaries, what will it prove else than to cut off one of your arms, to the great prejudice of your Kingdom and weakning of the Statest they dayly increasing in number, and no man being so miserable and mean, but he is a member of the State. The more easie manner and nobler way were to tolerate both Religions, and grant a place to two Churches in the Kingdom, till it shall please Almighty God to return the minds of your Subjects, and turn them all of one will and opinion: Be content to keep that which ye may, Sir, since ye cannot that which ye would.

It is a false and erroneous opinion, That a Kingdom cannot subsist which tolerateth two Religions: Diversitie of Religionshutteth not up society, nor barreth civil conversation among men; a little time will make persons of different Religions contract such acquaintance, custome, familiarity together, that they will be intermixt in one City, family, yea marriage Bed, State and Re-

ligion, having nothing common.

Why (I pray) may not two Religious be suffered in a State (till by some sweet and easie means they may be reduced to a right Goverment since in the Church (which should be union it self, and of which the Roman Church much vaunteth) almost infinit sects and kinds of Monks are suffered: differing in their Laws, Rules of government, Fashious of living, Dyet, Apparel, maintenance and opinions of perfection, and who sequester themselves from our publick union. The Roman Empire had its extension, not by similitude and likeness of Religion. Different Religious, providing they enterprize nor practise nothing against the Politick Laws of the Kingdom may be tolerated in a State.

The Murthers, Massacres, Battels, which arise and are belike dayly to encrease amongst Christians, all which are undertaken for Religion, are a thousand times more execrable, and be more open, plain, statimpiety, than this Liberty of diversity of Religions,

with a quiet peace, can be unjuft.

For a much as the greatest part of those who slesh themselves in blood and slaughter, and overturn by Arms the peace of their Neighbours (whom they should love as themselves) spoiling and ravaging like samished Lyons, sacrifice their souls to the infernal powers, without further bopes or means of their ever recovering and comming back, when those others are in some way of repentance.

In seeking liberty of Religion, these men seek not to believe any thing that may come in their Brains; but to use Religion according to the first Christian institutions, serving God and obeying the Laws under which they were born.

That Maxime so often repeated amongst the Church-men of Rome, That the Chase and following of Hereticks is more necessary than that of Insidels, is well applyed for the inlarging and

increasing the Dominions, Soveraignity and power of the Pope, but not for the amplifying and extending of the Christian Religion, and the Weal and Benefit of the Christian Common-Wealth.

Kingdomes and Soveraignityes should not be governed by the Lawes and Interests of Priests and Church men, but according to the exigency, need, and as the case requires hof the Publick Weal, which often is necessitated to pass and tolerate some defects and faults. It is the duty of all Christian Princes to endeavour and take pains that their Subjects embrace the true faith, as that semblably, and in even parts they observe all Gods commandments,

and not more one commandment than another.

Notwithstanding when a vice cannot be exstirpate and taken away without the ruin of the State, it would appear to humane judgments that it should be suffered. Neither is there a greater obligation, bond, necessity of Law, to punish Hereticks more than fornicators, which yet for the peace and tranquillity of the State are tolerated and past over. Neither can a greater inconviency and harm follow if we shall suffer men to live in our Common-wealth who believe not, nor embrace not all our opinions. In an Estate many things are for the time tolerated, because they cannot without the total ruine of the State be suddenly Amended and Reformed.

These men are of that same nature and condition of which we are; they worship, as we do, one God, they believe those very same boly records; We both aym at Salvation; We both fear to offend God : We both set before us our happiness: The difference between them and us hangeth upon this one point, that they having found abuses in our Church, require a reformation. Now hall it be said for that we run divers waies to one end, understand not rightly others language; we shall pursue others with Fire and Sword, & exstirpate others from the face of the Earth? God is not in the bitter division and alienation of affections, nor the raging flames of sedition, nor in the Tempests of the turbulent Whirl-winds of contradictions and disputations, but in the calm and gentle breathings of Peace and Concord: If any wander out of the High way, we bring him to it again; If any be in darkness, we shew him light and kill him not; In Musical Instruments if a string jar and be out of tune, we do not frettingly break it, but leasurely veer it about to a concord: and shall we be so Churlish, cruel, uncharitable, so wedded to our own superstitious opinions, that we will barbarously banish, kill, burn those whom by love and sweetness we might readily winn and recal again?

Let us win and merit of these men by reason, Let them be cited to a free Councel; it may be they shall not be proved Heretecks, neither that they maintain opinions condemned by the antient Councils. Let their Religion be compared and paralell'd with

the Religion of the first Age of the Church.

shall we hold this People worfe than the Jews, which yet have their Synagogues at Rome it self? Let them receive instructions from a free and lawfull Council, and for sake their errors, when they shall be clearly and fairly demonstrated unto them. Here se is an errour in the fundamental grounds of Religion, Schism intendeth a resolution in Separation: Let a good Council be convocated, and see if they be ready or not to rounite themselves to us.

That which they believe is not evil, but to some it will appear they believe not enough, and that there is in them rather a defect of good than any habit of evil. Other points when they shall be considered, shall be found to consist in external ceremonies of the Church, rather than in substance of doctrine, or what is essential to Christianity. These men should be judged before condemned, and they should be heard before they be judged which being holily and uprightly don, we shall sind it is not our religions, but our private intrests and pas-

sions which troubleth ws and the State.

The King followed not this opinion, but gave himself o. ver to the counsel and Government of the Prelates. remonstrate to him, that he should not rashly alter approved and long received customes; that there was nothing more dangerous in Government, than to abase the authority of antient Laws. Let him well confider and fet before his eyes the malice of Man, who ever when he is drawn off one course of evil precipitateth himself in a worse; It was less evil in State to tolerate disorders known, unto which usual and accustomed remedies might be applyed, than by altering and changing foundations to give way to new, to find out Remedies to which, would take and confume a whole age. That this would be a way, not only to take away the abuses, but even the good uses of every thing, and put in hazard all matters and main points concerning Religion. They defired him to confider how there were two forts of persons affecting these new opinions and studying Novations. The multitude or common people, and some of the Nobility and Gentry. It was likely the common people might be deceiv'd; and to give them latisfaction, and appeale them, by granting them a Reformation or change in religion, would not be a means to illuminate and instruct them, but to bring in a popular licence. If he should suffer them to misbelieve, distrust, call in question points of Religiou, or fearch or find out more light, they would immediately thereafter presume to make Laws and limit the Government, by degrees restraining the Soveraign authority, and after they had examined, fifted narrowly, and discust Ecclesiastical authority, they would essay to correct and find the difficulties of the Temporall. That it was

more

more easie to oppose and resist the first demands of the multitude, than pleasing them in a part, after bound and limit their desires and petitions. As to the great Men of his Nobility and Gentry he might be affured they had not Raligion and piety for their ends, but to impatronize and lay hold on the Church Rents, and Ecclefiastical goods. turn absolute and free men, acknowledging neither Church nor King. To this end many referved themselves, and kept close their opinions, attending the change: which once appearing, their faces would turn all one way. Which imminent evils, if the King would prevent, there was no other means than to use his authority and power, whilft the most and greatest part of his Kingdom yet obey'd him. That celerity in this was most necessary before their number increased, and ere they discover'd that universal commodity, which would follow the imbracing of these new opinions. It was fafer to compose these Tumults by his absolute command and authority, and if this produced not the wished effect to perform it by arms, than to give reins to a popular licence, and the ambition of great Men. . . .

After this counsel had prevailed, most rigorous inquisitions are established, and punishments denounced against all who professed opinions differing to the Church of Rome.

Whereupon some out of a mussled zeal of Religion, others to revenge their particular quarrels, most to possesse moveables and lands, pursue many to judgment. Of which some are executed by fire, others banished, many imprisoned, amongst which was that famous Poet and Historian George Buchanan, who whilst his Keepers slept, escaped by a Window of the Prison the Muses holding the Cable; the more frequent the publick executions were and banishments, the greater number embraced the opinions of them which suffered.

The King of England having understood that the Pope, giving out the confirming of a Peace between the Emperour and the French King, had a meeting with them at Nice (a maritime Town upon the confines of Provence) and assuring himself that matters there would be both consulted upon, and determined to his prejudice, sendeth again to his Nephew the King of Scotland, that he would come and see him at Tork, for now he had more vehemently irritated the Pope, having condemned as Rebels, and confiscated the goods of all who maintained Papal authority; and raised from their Tomb the Bones of Ihomas Becket (commonly named Saint Thomas of Canterbury, canoniz'd by Pope Alexander the third, for being kill'd for the maintenance of the liberties of the Church 1171. to whom there was yearly a Festival Day kept

by the Roman Church) and by the hands of a common Executioner caused burn in ashes and throw them in the River. The revealing of which to the world was a secret more derogatory to the Pontificial State, than any stumbled upon heretofore, or opened up. Upon this the Sentence of Excommunication, some years deferred, was pronounced against him. By which he was deprived of his Kingdom, and those who adhered to him, declared uncapable of what they possessed. His Subjects were dispensed from their Oathof Allegiance, and discharged to obey him. Strangers were inhibited traffick with his Kingdom. All Christians charged to arise in arms against him. The Estates, goods and persons of such Subjects as followed him, given over to

be a prey and spoil to any would invade them.

It was time for him to look to himself. Such of the Nobility as loved peace, and the Weal of the two Kingdoms, stirr'd King James to this interview, especially they who favour'd the retormed Religion; affuring him King Henry was dispofed with all demonstrations of good will, that his person would be far from any danger. And if by this conference they should join in bands of Amity, a great benefit to themselves, Country and posterity would redound. Why would King Henry in the face of the World and Neighbour Princes, brand to his Reputation, as to break the Laws of Hospitality, wrong a Prince whom he had invited to come and fee him? Why would he violate those of consanguinity attempting against his own Nephew? The Emperour Charles the fifth had been his Gnest, and after Royal entertainment, was friendly dismissed. He met with Francis the French King at Bullen; which meeting seemed rather of Brothers come to counter nance some marriage Pomp, than contending Neighbours. If King Henry had born any discontent against his Nephew. he might long ere now have satisfyed his ambition, and at more easie rate, when the King his father with most of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland receiv'd that fatal overthrow by the Hills of Flowden and Banks of Till; the refusing of an interview might divide the King and his Vncle upon which might follow some unnatural War.

Upon the other part the Church-men set all their Power to hinder this interview, perswading themselves it would give a terrible blow to their Estates or Religion. The principal cause (say they) why the King of England is so passionately earnest to have this meeting, is to perswade his Nephew to contorm Church-matters in Scotland to those already begun in England; to abolish the Popes authority, to drive Religious persons from their Lands, Rents, Houses; invest the jewels and ornaments of the Churches. Which counsel and

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example if King James should follow, he would hazard or lose the friendship he had with the Pope, Emperour and French King, his best confederates, abandoned of which he and his Kingdom would be left a Prey to the tyranny of his Uncle; if Henry kept no faith to God, Men had no reason to trust unto him. That this Interview was to intrap his person; He being the man whom the Pope and Emperour had defigned to let upon his Throne, and revenge their quarels; That it was grofly to err, to be carried away with a shadow and appearance and leave a Substance, to trust at once his Crown, person and liberty to an Enemy. And sith examples move more than precepts, let him think upon the hazard of King James the first, eighteen years Prisoner, and after fold to his Subjects; Malcolm and William Kings of scotland. He should remember (if yet he were therein to be instructed) that Princes serve themselves with occasions over their Neighbours, that they have greater care to fatis fy their ambition, than fear of shame for doing of wrongs with the present times or posterity. That their Oaths were no longer kept than they observed their advantages. That after he falleth in his hands, he ought to follow his manners, Religion, forfaking and giving over his own natural dispofition, manners and freedom, have no other affections nor motions than his. For who commeth under the roof of a Tyrant turneth flave, though he was a free man ere he did enter. That this meeting with the body, would endanger the Soul and infect it with his errours, corrupting it with falle opinions grounded upon a liberty to live to lenfuality and Epicurean pleasure. If upon the flighting of this Interview, King Henry should denounce war against King James and invade his Countrey, they in his just defence should furnish moneys to entertain an Army and overturn his proceedings. For the present necessity they offer to pay to him fyfty thousand Crowns yearly; and in any hazard of the Estate voluntarily to contribute all their rents and revenues, providing it would please his Majesty to suffer justice to proceed against those who scandalously had sequestred themfelves from the holy Church, and to the contempt of his Laws publiquely made profession of the opinious of Luther. That the goods of all who should be convict of Heresie ( which they esteemed to no less than an hundred thousand Crowns of yearly Rent ) should be brought to the Exchequer, and their lands annext to the Crown. To this effect they intreat his Majesty to give them sufficient Judges truly Catholick and full of zeal and feverity.

After long reasoning upon both sides it was agreed, the King should not altogether resulte to meet his Vncle, but ad-

here to the first offer propounded to his Emb flador concer-The meeting to be at New castle, one ning this Inter-view. thousand at the most in train with either King, the time to

be the Feast of St. Michael the Arch Angel.

Thele Conditions not being embraced by King Henry, would if not abolish totally, at the least prolong the time of this meeting; the King of England thinketh his Nephew too imperious to assume the Injunction of the whole circumstances of their meeting, but rather than his fuit should take no effect, accepteth both of the Place and number of the Train: and that he might have some point yeelded unto him, requireth the time may be the first of August. These Conditions being almost agreed upon, three or four hundreth Riddesdale and Tinedale men, with other Borderers, break upon Liddesdale, and therewith large incursions kill and forrage. This during the Treaty falling miserably forth, so much irritated King James that, accepting the offers of his Clergy, he gave over inwardly all intentions of any inter-view: By prolonging time labouring to winde himself out of the Hereupon he sendeth Letters full of excuses for his Itay; representing his many grievances and wrongs suffer'd; and the feeds of discord began now to be sowen amongst To lighten and recreate his cloudy thoughts, the Queen is delivered at Sterlin of another Son, who with great solemnity is baptized in the Chappel of the Castle, and named Arthur.

The Prelates after mature deliberation present Sir James Hamiltoun, natural Son to the Earl of Arran, to be supream Judge of the Inquisition, against all suspect of Heresie and new opinions differing from the Faith of the Roman Church. The King approving their judgements in their choise, admitteth him. Sir James chearfully accepteth this new hon our: For now hisampition will find many guilty & miferable fupplicants: Yet was this charge his ruin. For whilft he perfecuteth all who were informed against to be suspect of the Reform'd Religion, having many in Jayls, and numbers in his Scroles to bring within the Labyrinth of a Process, the su-

pream Providence arresteth himself.

James Hamiltoun Sherif of Linlythgow, Brother to Master Patrick Hamiltonn Abbot of Ferme (who had fuffered for Religion, and was cousin to Sir James Hammiltoun of Fennard, Lord Inquisitor) for embracing his Brothers opinions, had been perfued so by the Church-men that he was constrain'd to forfake his own Countrey, and some yeers wander as a banisht man abroad; But by his friends at Court having purchased a License or Protection for some moneths to see his desolate Family, and put his private Affairs in order, cometh

home. Where finding the censorian Power to be in his coufins hands (for where should he have Sanctuary, if he were challenged by so neer a Kinsman for matters of Religion?) imagining to himself an over-sight and preterition, outdateth by his stay his Protection. Sir Iames to curry the favour of the Church-men, and testifie how dearly the cause of the Catholike Faith touched him, resolveth to begin with his Cousin. For if he were so burnt up with zeal, that he spar'd not his own blood in the quarrell of the Roman Faith, what Heretick could pass unpunisht? Besides the investing himself in the Sherifs Office and Lands (which he never minded to restore) he had a Picque against him, for that whilst he sate Judge in Lithgon, he pronounced a sentence

by which he was interested in some petty gain.

The Sheriff falling fo far short of his expectation, that he findeth himself the first subject of his Coufins justice, and highly refenting his Kinfmans cruelty, whom he knew under pretext of Piety ready to execute his own Revenges, refolveth to prevent his mischief. He had sometime been familiar with Sir James, had known his by paths; his fecret Plots and ayrie brags had not escaped his observation; somealike in kindred, to them both were emissaries suborned, to mark not onely his actions but words and behaviour, by which one way or other he might be intrapt; He knew Sir James stood in some umbrage with the King, and that some suspitions by no Innocency could be taken away. When at last he had found his hot-spur Cousin (who threatned him with Death and Fire) within the circle of his conjurations, he directeth his Son to the King, who at that time was ready to pals the Forth in his Barge; this balhful Messenger giveth advertisement from his Father, that the King should make his person sure from his foes at home; for Sir James Hamiltonn had secret intelligence and Plots with the Earl of Angus and Dowglasses, and that he attended onely the occasion when he might surprise him, either alone, or with a mean retinue, and then or openly he would invade him, or breaking up his Chamber-doors affaffinate him. The Kinggiving attentive ear to a business which concerned him, no less than the safe. ty of his Person, the accusation being given by a Consinof the suspect, against a family, which a little disorder in the State might turn Successors to the Crown, directeth the young man to Edenburgh, and beyond his private instructi ons giveth him a Ring (well known by the chief Officers to be a token of power and secrecie) to assemble so many of the Counsel as were resident. Sir Thomas Arseken, Secretary, Sir James Lermound, Master of the Houshold, William Kirk. caldie Treasurer and others, meet, fear consult upon the Treafon |

fon, labour how to prevent it; come to Sir James his Lodgeing, make fure his Person in the Castle of Edenbrough: and at that same time proceed, according to the Kings direction to iultruct his Process. Sir lames passionately resenting his imprisonment, by his friends imploreth the ayd of the Church-men upon his innocency. They apprehending his acculation to be a stratagem of State forg'd by these of the Reformed Religion, for the stopping any further progress of the Inquisition, already so furiously begun, interpose their credit with the King for his Liberty to the discharging of his Commission against Hereticks. If the King should hearken to every Informer against a man in State and Office, he should never have an end; for thus no man is so innocent who may not be detracted and calumniated. Sir James was known to be a man rash and insolent in words, his brains having been a little giddy (like one looking from a great height) by his advancement in honours and place in Court; but fincere in the service of his Prince and loyal. If he was arrogant in bold. nels of termes, that was to acquire fome more credit with the Commons, that he might doe better service to his Prince.

They who committed Sir James Hamiltonn, knowing the King facile and case to be wrought upon by the Clergy. some of them too, professing or giving way to the reform'd Religion, resolve (if he should escape free of this accusation) that an imminent ruin hung over their persons and estates. Necessity and fear combining the distracted powers of their minds, they come prostrate before the King, befeech him not fo much to look to the quality and circumstances of the crime, as to the evil inclination of the man, who, powerful, factious, and naturally vindicative, would never forgive nor forget the danger he was driven unto; that His Majesty would consider his pass'd life, terrible and cruel against all whom he could over-reach; That to give him liberty, and relieve him of his imprisonment, before the crimes of which he was accused were clearly proved, or not, would be their, and the accusers overthrow; whom they esteemed loyal Sub. jects, and except upon evident probabilities, had never given informations against him. That he was a man perfectly hated of the People, and a more acceptable facrifice could not be effer'd unto their fury if he prov'd guilty. At their Supplications the King gave the Judgesfull power to proceed against him, and administer justice according to their consciences and the Laws of the Kingdom. The pannall being found guilty of such points of the Inditement as was laid against him, was condemned to die, and thereafter accordingly beheaded, his Quarters being set aloft on the Town gates his Landsannex'd to the Crown.

The Crimes of which he was found guilty (as from those who lived near that time have by tradition been received) were, he had intelligence with the Earl of Angus and Dowglasses, whom he laboured to have restored, though with the Kings death, he had a plot to have broken up the Kings Chamber-doors, and killed him, divolving the title of the Crown, or at least Government of the Kingdom to his kintred. Being directed to have repared a Castle in Bute, and to this effect receiving three thousand Crowns in April, he went not thither, attending some change in the State, which was to be accomplished by treason against the Kings person. He kept still with him men of disperate minds and sortunes who at his direction durst enterprize any mischief.

Where he had repaired some of the Kings houses, he had placed a Statue resembling himself, or which to some he had named his Statue (what Mole-hills are turned into Mountains when a Prince will pry into the actions of a disgraced Subject?) above the Kings arms. He had detracted from his Master, naming him the King of Clowns and Priests, and Scourge of the antient Nobility; He had laboured to hinder

the Kings marriage at his being in France.

To these points the people (who rejoiced in his ruin) added, he had slain cruelly the Earl of Lennox at the battell of Lithgon, after he was Prisoner to Purdonye; he had way laid Gilbert Earl of Cassiles who was killed by his direction and Counsel.

This back-blow of Fortune proveth, that it is dangerous once highly to offend a Prince, and after remain in his service; for Princes put old offences up as neglected, and when the occasion serveth them, surprize long after the Delinquents

for some faults of which they are searce guilty.

Sundry of the Nobility, appall'd at this sudden fall of Sir Iames Hamiltonn (for though they loved not the Man, they hated the example of such strict Justice) left the Court, retiring to their own dwelling Houses: which made the King suspicious of them, and believe they savoured the reformed Religion, and preferred the friendship of King Henry his Vnele to his. Neither was he herein far Mistaken: for some steared not to send him word, that they had learned the Church-men had set him on work to extirpate his antient Nobility, as if it were an easie matter to create as many out of the Gentry, in whom (being his own Creatures) he might have greater considence than any made by his Predeces-sours.

After this heturned fo retired, sullen and melancholly, that every thing displeased him, and he became even insupportable to himself, not suffering his Domestick Servants

touse their ordinary disport and recreations neer him. And as all day he projected and figured to himself new cares to perplex himself, some of which might fall forth, others could never come to pals; So in the night time the objects of his dayly projects working upon his fantalie, limmed their dark shadows of displeasures, which gave him terrib e affright in his fleep. Amongst many of which, two are recorded as notable; one in the History of the Church, the other common; both feem to have been forged by the Men of those times, who thought fictions as powerful to breed an opinion in discontented minds as verities, and they may challenge a place in the poetical part of History. "As he lay in the Pallace of Lithgow about the midst of the night, he leaped out of his Bed, calleth for Lights, commandeth his Servants to fearch Thomas Scot his Justice Clark, who (he faid) flood by his Bed-fide accompanied with hideous weights curfing the time that ever he had ferved him; for by too great obedience to him, he was by the justice of God condemned to everlasting torments.

Whilst they about him labour to cure his wounded Imagination, news came that Thomas Scot about that same hour of the Night was departed to the other World at Edenburgh and with no better Devotion than he was represented to the

King.

After Sir James Hamiltoun had ended his part of this Trage-comedy of life, he seemed to the King to have returned on the Stage, and in a ghastly manner with a naked Sword in his hands, he thought he parted both his arms from him, advertising him he would come again shortly, and be more fully revenged, till which occasion he should suffer these wounds. The next day after this vision (which is recorded to have been the seaventh of Angust) word came that both his Sonns were deceased and that almost in one hour. James the Prince (then one year old) at St. Andrews, Arthur one moneth old at Sterlin.

The King of England finding himself disappointed by his Nephew of their meeting, and understanding it to have been occasiond by the Rhetorick and liberality of the Churchmen: having many of the Nobility of scotland of his faction (whose innocency interpreted his Religion to be the reformed, though indeed it was of his own stamp, for he abolished the Pope but not Popacy) by making prizes of scottish Ships upon the Seas with his Fleet and incursions of his garrison'd Souldiers upon land beginneth the prologue of an unnecessary war.

King James to stop the English incursions placeth George Gordown Earl of Huntley with his full power and authority

at the Borders, and directeth James Lermound of Darcey, towards his Uncle, to give sufficient reasons of his not meeting him at Newcastle, withall to seek restitution of his Ships, sith taken before any lawful War was proclaimed, and to expostulate the hostility of the Borderers.

King Henry not only refuseth render the Ships, or give a reason for the breaking forth of the Garrisons on the Borders, but delaying the answer of the Scottish Embaffadour upon advantage of time, sendeth Sir Robert Bowes seconded with the Earl of Angus and Sir George Dowglas, in hostile manner to invade Scotland. These to the number of three thoufand, burn, spoil, small villages, and ravage the Countrey neer the debatable bounds. The Earl of Huntley omitteth no occasion to resist them, places garrisons in Kelsoo and Jedburgh, affembling all the hardy Bordrers, and invadeth the English and Scottist forces at a Place named Hall-den rig; here it is foundly skirmished, till the Lord Hume by the advancing of four hundred fresh Launces turned the fortune of the Day; for the English were put to flight; the Warden Sir Robert Bowes Captain of Norham, Sir William Mowbray, James Dow. glas of Parkbead with a natural Son of the Earl of Angus, were taken Priloners (the Earl by the advantage of his horse escaping) with others to the number of fix hundred. Warden Staied in Scotland till the Kings death.

This Road happened prosperously to the Scots the 24. of August 1541. being a Dise-mall St. Bartholomen to the Eng-

lifb.

The War continuing till Midsommer, King Henry sent the Earl of Norfolk, whom he named the Rod of the Scots, with great power towards Scotland; with him the Earls of Sbrew (bury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hereford, Angus, Rutland, and the Lords of the North parts of England, with an Army of fourty thousand men, as they were esteemed. With them he directeth James Lermound of Darcey the Scorift Embassadour to keep an equal march till they came to Bir. wick, and there to flay that he should not give advertisement to his Master of any of his proceedings; the Earl of Huntley upon advantages of places refilting the adventuring Routs who effayed to cross the Tweed. But King James hearing the old Duke of Norfolk was their Leader, raiseth from all the parts of his Kingdom Companies, and affembling them upon Samter medge mustered thirty thousand men. They encamped on Fallow-Moor, the King having advertisement that the Duke would march towards Edenburgh. Ten thousand strong, the Lords Hume, Seatonn, Areskin, to make up the Earl of Huntleys forces, are sent towards the borders: The King himself expecting the Artillery and other furniture of War staieth with the body of the Army in the Camp. Durin this time it is reported the Lords plotteth a Reformation of the Court, according to the example practised at Lander-Bridge: especially against such who were named, Pensioners of the Priests; but because they could not agree among themselves about those who should stretch the ropes, every one striving to save his kinsman, or friend, they escaped all the danger.

That this attempt being revealed to the King, he dismist some of his tavourites in great tear to Edenburgh. So maliti-

ous is faction armed with power.

Thomas Duke of Norfolk, by such in the Scotish Camp who favoured King Henry, having understood the preparati. on and mind of King Iames to meet him in an open field. well knowing that Fortune had that much of a woman to favour young men more than old, and that honourable 1etreits are no waies inferiour to brave Charges, retireth off the Scottish ground, and keeps his forces on their own marches. For the valour and resolution of this young Prince might (perhaps) spoil and divest him of his former purchafed Lawrels and Palms, to the applause of King Henry, who some thought (being wearie of his service) to this effect sent A great number of the Lancastrians and him to Scotland. North-Humbrians, who, upon hopes of spoil, had followed him, pretending want of Victuals, and the rigorous feafon of the year, with arms and baggage leave this Army. Having done little harm to the Scots, and suffered much hunger and cold at B. rwick, he prepareth a retreit towards London.

When King Iames understood the Duke had repassed the Tweed, he encouraged his Army to follow him. The Common Souldier was indifferent; the Noblemen refuse to fight except upon Scotist ground. The King urgeth them with the commodity and advantage of a Revenge of the old wrong of the Duke, commanding an Army neither of the Gentry, nor many Nobles of England, but of Hirelings and pressed Artizans, whose number would prove hurtful to themselves, and turn them in a disordered confusion. They had many daies suffered famine, and all necessities of War; their vigour and courage was spent; that the English fought far off, and they at home. There wanted not matter to answer, but a man to deliver the King an answer; generally they refuse to fight. To defend the person of their Prince, the State and Countrey, they would hazard their their lives, and if they had any thing more dear. If the enemy would stay on Scotish ground, they would do their uttermost to make him retire, or by main force expel him; But to in-

vade England and tempt an Army, who not only was retired but returned to their own bounds, they neither had fo justa quarrel as they witht, nor, were they sufficient at that time to purfue them. Their provisions forwas were fpent, the winter approached, victuals confumed is shatt de pare often curned it felf into true fortitude, and men in good Order retiring would not be too neer followed, that even flying enemies should have Bridges of Gold wo Now if they were to charge the Enemy they would not have the Kings preferee a man young, rath, valorous, upon whole life, not onely the glory of the Battel, but the life of she Common-wealth depended, his two Sons being lately departed. For if the fortune of War brought a period to bis life, the Crown would remain at the mercy of the Victor; that the Kings glory was not little that he had in fo thore a time with to imall forces, and thele fuddenly gathered, ftops the progress of so mighty an Army , which was so long in gathering, and boafted of such great matters, yet which does not advance one mile in Sceriff ground. Whether the Bay lift flye or retire, they bed fuffered as much wrong as they had done, and now to fight them (and that perhaps) with disadvantage, was to put in hazard what was already acquired.

The Duke of Norfolk returning to London, the King with his Army commeth to Edenburgh, which immediate he disbanded; but he forgot not the secret Plot against his Favourites, nor the open refusal of his Nobles to fight on English ground: as if the Earth were not all one piece and matter, and men the destinade inhabitants of it every where; the Cardinall David Beatonn, Oliven Saintelair, Craggy Ross, and others adde sewel to these stames, Falla.

Meer plot mightily indigating them.

The King avouched publickly, That the Nobility neither loved his honour, nor defired his continuance amongst them.

To cooll these smooking humours and breed in the King fairer hopes of his Nobles, the Lord Maxwel offereth, giving him ten thousand men to command (if the State thought it expedient) to invade England at Salloway, affirming the State and fortune of those who assail, to be better than theirs who are still put to their desence. The English forces being divided, he doubted not to stay longer on English ground than the Duke had done on the Santish, and to effectuate somthing to the Kings content. The King thanking him for his offer, appointeth a Rendezvous to be at the West Marches. No proclamations are divulged for the Levies of men, but close Letters sent.

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The Cardinal and the Earl of Arran (the one a Churchman of a mind above many Nobles, the other a Noble. man of an humilitie under any Churchman) to give false perspective to those proceedings, by sound of Trumpets, and beating of Drumins raise men openly, march toward Hadingtonn, and the East Borders; Whilst the Earls of Cassiles, Glencarn, Lords Flammin, Sommervail, Arsekin, Barons Ayroun, Langtonn, Ormessoun, Wanghtonn, and many others, accompanied with the Kings domestick Servants ride to the West Borders.

The night before the Road, the King himself came to Lock-Mahan, attending the event of the incursion. Companies comming from all quarters of the Countreys about, noneknowing of another, with the power of the scotish Borderers, passahe Water of Esk, burn certain Hamlets of the

Graband on the very limits.

Sir Ibomas Whartoun Warden of these Marches, not a little troubled at such a frequent assembly of the Scotish Riders, raising the power of the Countrey, placeth them by a little hill, where he might take a view of their forces, in good order; with him were Bastard Dacres and Jack Mus-

grave, two valiant Captains. 1 11 21 ...

The Scotists Lords beholding the English, range themselves in a Battallion, desire to know the Kings Lieutenant General, for now it was to marshall their Companyes, and every man totake him to his Charge. Presently Oliver Saintelair upon crossed Pikes is mounted, the Kings Banner displayed, and the Commission read in which he is designed Lieutenant, and all commanded, in the Kings name, to obey and follow him.

It hath been reported by those who were acquainted with oliver, that the Commission was not read, but that at his very sight such a tumult, confused clamour, and enter shouldering of Male contents arose, their rancks were broken, the military order turned into a confusion, none so repining as the Lord Maxwel and the Borderers; Who is he had had patience to have heard the Commission (as oliver protested) was Lieutenant, and not he, whose charge was only to present it.

The English who now were ready for the Fight, observing this disorder, take the advantage upon the occasion, and brake forwards with a military shout, whilst the others are in doubt whether to slee or stand, and the Guidiats and Scullons are pelle melle thronging with the foot Soldiers and they with the Horsemen. Here is a general surprize, most part willingly rendering themselves to the English without any shew of defence, or the slaughter of any per-

lon

for of any tide. This everthrow proveth that neither arms northe multitude and numbers of Souldiers without their love and hearts availeth any thing in a Field, year ather they are hurtful the more in number they be, if their affection be alienated from their Commanders.

It is recorded that at this road, which was named sollomay Moss, every English had three or four scots for Prisoners, and when their wanted men to take them, the women of the neighbouring Hamelet and Boys had Prisoners; the Earls of Cassiles and Glencarn, the Lords Maxwel, Flammin, Sommervail, Olivant, Gray, Robert Areskin Son to the Lord Areskin, Oliver Saintclain; The Lairds of Craggy, Aytoun, Langtonn, Ormestoun, Waughtoun, many of the Kings Domestick Servants were taken Prisoners, brought to London, and remained there till after the Kings death.

The certainty of this voluntary defeat comming to the King at Lock-Mahan (or Carlawfroke as others) fo altonished all the powers of his mind that he neither had counsel nor resolution what to follow, neither remembring his own valour, nor the number of his Subjects yet flourithing; he remained as one distracted, and abandonned of all hopes. The Plot of the Nobles at Falla Moor against his Servants; the refusing to give battel on English ground; made him apprehend that the whole body of his Nobility had conspired his overthrow.

The Cardinall and Earl of Arran comming to Edenburgh, he also returned; all so cast down that they were ashamed to come within sight of each other some daies.

After which, in a retired manner, he passed to Fiffe, and from Hall-yards to Faulkland, where he gave himself over to Sorrow. No man had access unto him, no, not his own Domesticks. Now are his thoughts busied with revenge, now with rage against his scornful Nobility: long watchings, continual cares, and passions, abstinence from food, and recreation, had so extenuated his body, that pierced with grief, anguish, impatience, despair, he remained sixt to his bed.

In these Trances Letters come from Lithgow to him, That the Queen was delivered of a Daughter the eight of December. When he heard it was a Daughter was born, he is said to have turned his face from them that read the Letters, and sighing a sarewell to the World, It will end as it began (saies he) the Crown came by a woman, and it will with one go; many miseries approach this poor Kingdome; King Henr, will either make it his by Armes or Marriage.

The Cardinall put in his hands some blanck Papers,

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of which they composed a Letter Will, which whether he subscribed or not, is uncertain. After which he said not many words which could be understood, but mused on the discomfiture of his Servants at the solloway-Most. In which fits he left this world the thirteenth of December 1542. the three and thirtieth year of his age and two and thirty of his

Some record he wastroubled by an unkindly medicine, and that the Cardinal was conscious to it, but upon far conjectures: for the event proved that his death was not onely the ruine of the Cardinall, but of the whole Church men of the Kingdom, and frame of the Roman Religion. His body was conveyed from Faulkland to Edenburgh; the Cardinal, Earls of Arran, Arguil, Rothess, Marshal, accompanying it; and in January buried in the Abby Church of Holy-rood bons, near the body of Magdalen his first Queen. He left behind him many natural children; of his Marriages only one daughter, five daies old at his death, the Heir of his Kingdom and missortunes.

This King was of a well made body and excellent mind, if it had been carefully polishe; he was of a middle stature; Nature had given him strength and ability equal to any; but by exercise he had so confirmed it, that he was able to endure any travel, and practice all feats of Arms, as his atten. ding on Malefactors proved; for he was ordinary thought the first of his Troups who persued them, and the last that left the chase, being daring and forward. In his private affairs he was attentive and liberal, yet spared his Treasure that he should not want, and when occasion required caring for no charges. Never man did entertain Soveraignity more familiarly, being of easie access to the meaner fort as to the He was studious of all good arts, naturally given to Poesie, as many of his verses yet extant testifie. He was of as great sobriety as of little continency is he was a great favourer of learned men. The poor men loved him, the great teared him; he made the rushy bushes keep the heards of Cattel; he was thankful towards his Friends, dangerous towards his Enemies. He infinitely obliged his people by establishing a Justice Court among them, and bringing all forts of Manufacours from neighbor nations home. By the Germans he found the Gold Mines of Crawfoord Moor, being unknown to this part of the world before him, out of which he extracted treafure. He left his Arlenals furnisht with all sorts of arms and furniture for War. Now as in pictures not only the light but the shadow is observable, let us look upon him in all his um. brages. This Prince in his long persuit of the Domglasses seems to have had a strange humour, that he could never forgive; And

And most of his miseries may be traced to this source; these he would have extirpate, and the King of England could not forsake a man who was his brother-in-law, and had been ever obsequious to him: Seeking only that he might be restord to his own, out of which he was cast, not by any treason or aspiring to the Crown, but of an ambition he had to be near the King, and equal to any Subject: his own worth, kinred and sollowers animating him thereunto; having maried the Kings Mother and one of the greatest Kings Sister of those times.

The burning alive of the Lady Glames, beheading of the Master of Forbess, and after him Sir James Hamiltonn, turned many of his Nobles from him, and made the Commons detract him. For though they delight sometimes to have great men made equal to them, when they find not evident proofs and sound grounds of their sufferings and executions, they abhor the Actors. Princes should remember that as the people are their Subjects, so are they the Subjects of time and providence.

This humour of revenge made many believe if he had not been prevented by death, many Scaffolds had been embrued for Falla-moor Plot, and Solloway-Moss. The Lord Maxwel, who had studied the Character of the King, at that Road vowed (when he might have escaped among his known Borderers) he would rather be the KING of Englands Prisoner, and see him at London, than return home, and be shamefully hanged at the Cross of Edenburgh.

He studied very much the overthrow of his antient Nobility, not considering that the titles of Crowns in Hereditary Kingdomes belong only to Kings for that they are the most Antient Noblemen, and also first of the Primitive Bloud.

In his last years he was altogether governed by Romish Prelates, dangerous Pilots in the Ocean of a troubled State; that Body in which one humour signorizeth, cannot last long, and a Prince perisheth when he is governed by onely one fort of men. Neither was he ruled so much by them out of great zeal to Religion (being a Prince altogether given to his own pleasures) as that he found them counterpoise the Nobility, whilest he swayed the ballanc.

His death proveth his Mind to have been raised to the highest strain, and above mediocrity; for he could die, but could not disgest a disaster. He seemeth to have had too much considence in himself, and that he forgot the conditions of Mortality. Whilest he suffered himself

to be carryed away by the current of grief, and swallowed

up in the gulf of despair.

All his faults are but as some sew Warts in a most pleasing and beautiful Face. He was very much beholding to the excellent Poets of his time, whose commendation shall serve him for an Epitaph. Ariosto, who knew him onely by same, in the person of Zerbino, whom he nameth Prince of Scotland, glaunceth at his worth.

> Zerbin di Bellezza e di Valore Sopra tutti i Signori eminente, Di virtu essempio e di Bellezza raro.

In another place; but Ronzard, who with his Queen came to scotland, and was his Domestick Servant, describeth him more to the life.

Ce Roy D' Escosse estoit en la sleur de ses ans:

Ses Cheveux non tondus commine sin or luisans

Cordonnez et crespez flotans dessus sa face,

Et sur son col de laiet luy donnoit bonne grace.

Son Port estoit royal, son reguard vigoureux.

De vertus, et de bonneur, & de guerre amoureux.

La douceur, et la force, illustroient son visage.

Si que Venus et Mars en avoient fait partage.

So happie is a Prince when he cherisheth and is intertain'd by the rare spirits of histime, that even when his Treasures, Pompe, State, Followers, Diadems, and all externall Glory leave him, the sweet incense of his Fame in the Temple of Honour, persumeth his Altars. A Prince's name is surer preserved, and more deeply ingraven in Paper, than in all the rusting Medalles, blasted arches, entombed Tombes (which may serve to any as well as to him) raised with such loss of time, vaine labours of Artizans, vast expense, to be the sport of the Windes, Raines, Tempests, Thunder, Earthquakes, or if they shunne all these, of superstition, saction and civil Broyles.

After this Prince had some years rested in a Tombe, not only it, but the most part of the Church was made equal to the ground, by the Armies of his Uncle King Henry the eight, whose malice lest him not even when he was dead, proving

ing as horrible an Vncle, as Nero was a son. A while after he was transported to another Vault, by the piety of his matchless Grand-child James King of Great Britain; where he was embalmed again, enshrined and his Cossin adorned with the Arms of the Kingdom, cognoscances and a Crown. With which Honours I leave him, till some famous pen; encouraged by the favours of his Royal Successours, raise his Fame from the dust of obscure Papers to Eternity.



THE END.



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MEMORIALS.

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# MEMORIALLS OF STATE.

Considerations to the KING.

December 1 6 3 2.



Here is nothing more dangerous to a King than to suffer
Majesty, and that sacred respect which a Subject oweth
him to be violated, and his
Fame and Reputation lessened by other mens boldness,
whose presumption may lead
them forwards not onely to
dally with his Person, but
with his Crown. But his ears
are so often guarded by these

men, that he never heareth verities till he hath granted what he cannot well amend, and his wounds be incurable. It a Prince hold any thing dear it should be the Right and

Title of his Crown, which concerneth not onely himself but his Posterity, out of which a small Jewel taken away, maketh it the less Radiant; And to all Subjects that should be as Mount sinai, not to be approached. In every case we should take greater heed to what in it is hurtful, than to what is in it profitable; for what profit and commoditie any thing carrieth with it, easily presenteth it self unto us; but any one point which may hurt us, unless it be observed and carefully taken away, may overthrow and bring to nought all that hath been rightly intended.

The restoring of the Earl of Monteeth in blood, and allowing his descent and title to the Earldome of Stratbern is thought to be disadvantageous to the King's Majesty, and that a more dangerous blow could not be given to the Nobleman himself. We may easily conjecture of things to come and imagine them by those of the like nature which have proceeded. The Stage of the World is the same still, though in times the Actors be changed, and come about

For the Kings Majelty, it would be considered if Henry the fixth King of England would, if it had been in his power, reclaimed the approbation restoring in bloud and allowing of the descent and title of Richard Duke of Tork, who openly in Parlament thereafter made claim for the Crown, as in his own right, laying down thus his title.

The Son of Ann Mortimer who came of Philipe the Daughter and sole heir of Leonel Duke of Clarence, third Son to King Edmard the third, is to be preferred by very good right in Succession of the Kingdom before the children of John of Gaunt the fourth Son of the said Edmard the third: but Richard Duke of Tork is come of Philipe the Daughter and sole Heir of Leonel Duke of Clarence, third Son to K. Edward the third, then to be preferred before the children of the fourth Son who was Henry.

The like reason may be alleged in the Title of the Earl of strathern. The children of a first marriage by the common Law are to be preferred in the Succession before the children of the second marriage; for the marrying of Elizabeth Moor did but legitimate and make her children to succeed after the

children of the first marriage.

As for the authority of a Parliament, it would be confidered, whether or not the Authority of a Parliament may confer and entail a Crown from the lawful Heir thereof, to the next apparent heirs. Or if an Oath given unto a King by mans Law should be performed, when it tendeth to the suppression of Truth and Right which stand by the Law of God. Then if one Parlament hath power to entail a Crown, whether

whither may not another Parliament upon the like confide

rations restore the same to the righteons heirs.

But the Subject refigneth all his right to his King. It would be confidered whether a Subject may safely capitulate with his Prince, that is to say, give over and quit-claim all right and title which he hath to his Soveraigns Crown, his Right being sufficient, and if by his capitulation his heirs be bound, and if it be honourable for a Prince to accept his conditions.

The trouble which Edward Baliol raised in Scotland, is yet

recent to the Readers of Histories.

Notwithstanding that his Father Iohn Baliol had resigned unto Robert King of Scotland all the right and title which he or any other of his had, or thereafter might have to the Crown of Scotland concerning any interest or claim which might be avouched for any cause or consideration: He, anno 1355. gave to Edward the third, King of England, a full resignation of his pretended Right of the Crown of Scotland, As before, being affished by the said King and the consederate Gentlemen of Scotland in a Parlament holden at Perth, where he had been consirmed King of Scotland by the three Estates.

It would be considered if the Pope, the Kings of Spain or France after some revolutions of years, seeking to trouble the Estate and peace of this Isle, should entertain and maintain one of the Heirs of the Earls of Strathern (as Queen Elizabeth did Don Ansonio the Prior of Crato, who claimed the Crown of Portugal, to reclaim whose Kingdome She fent the Earl of Ellex and Drake) or should marry one of them to their neerest Kinswomen, and send him armed with power to claim his Title to the Crown of Scotland, as King James the fourth of scotland practifed upon Perkin Warbeck naming himself Richard Duke of Tork; to whom he gave in marriage Lady Katharine Gordown Daughter to the Earl of Huntley, and thereafter with all his forces, to estable his faid Ally in his Title invaded England. It would be confidered whether they had a fair bridge to come over to this lile.

It would likewise be considered if the Earl of Stratbern, though a mean Subject, these two hundred years, having been debarred from all title to the Crown, and now by the indulgency and exceeding favour of the Prince, being restored to his descent in bloud and served Heir to his great Progenitors, and indirectly as by appendices to the Crown, if either out of displeasure, or for want of means to main tain their estates, he or his should sell and dispose their Rights and Titles of the Kingdom of Scotland to some migh-

of sweden) who wanteth nothing but a title to invade a Kingdom, not knowing whither to discharge his victorious forces. It would be considered if that title disposed to that Prince were sufficient to make him King of scotland. Or if establishing his right upon fair conditions, such as is liberty of conscience, absolution and freedom from alli taxes and subsidies, the transferring of Ward lands into fewd, the people of scotland might give him their Oath of Alleagiance; or if he might redact the King of scotland to give him satisfaction and compound for his right of the Crown of Scotland.

It would to these be considered. If times should turn away the minds of Subjects from their Prince, by superstition, sedition and absolute Rebellion, as what may not befall an inconstant ever wavering Nation? to an Aristocratic, Oligarchy, Democratic, or absolute Anarchy. If the Rebellious subjects and abused Populace might not make advantage of such Men, who draw their titles from Evanders mother to trouble

the present times.

That nothing could be more dangerous to the Nobleman himself than this service, may be understood by the like ex-

amples.

Clouis King of France having understood that a Nobleman of Artois named canacare blown up by Power, had vaunted that he was come and lineally descended from Clodion le Chevelu, and by that same Succession was heir of the Crown of Enance, closed not his ears to it (saies the History) but caused extirpate that Sower of impostures and all his Race.

Henry the fourth King of England after the depolure of King Richard the second, kept Edmond Mortimer Earl of March, who had a just title to the Crown, under such Keepers that he could never do nor attempt any thing till he dyed. But Henry the seventh King of England took away Edward Plantaginet Duke of Warwick Heir to George Duke of Clarence, by reason of his jealousie of Succession to his Uncle Edward the fourth.

Margarite Plantaginet his sole Daughter (married to Sir Richard Pole knight) by Henry the eight restored to the Earldom of Salisbury, was attainted threescore and two years after her Father had suffered and was in the Tower of London beheaded, in whose person dyed the surname of Plantaginet.

Anne Plantaginet Daughter to Edward the fourth, being marryed to Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk was the ground and chief cause wherefore King Henry the eight, cut off the head of Henry Earl of Surrey; though the

preten-

pretended cause whereon he was arraigned was the bearing certain arms of the house of York, which only belonged to the King.

Mary Queen of England cut off the head of Lady Jene Gray and the Lord Guilford her Husband, for their title to the Crown; and that same reason was the overthrow and finall destruction of Mary Queen of Scotland by Queen Plies abeth.

The Duke of Guise by a Genealogy deduced from Charles the Great, in the raign of Henry the third the French King, was thought to aspire to the Grown of France, and suffered at

last for this and his other presumptions.

It is notoriously known, that these two hundred years the Race of Euphane Ross in her children David Earl of Strabens and Walter Earl of Athole, and all their Succession by all the Kings of Scotland sithence, have been ever suppressed and kept under, and for reason of State should still be kept low and under, unless a Prince would for greater reason of State advance them, to give them a more horrible blow, and by suborning mercinary men, make them aim above their reach to their last extirpation.

Dum nesciunt distinguere inter falmen & pracipitia, Princeps quem persequitur landrat & extallit in altum.

An intended Speech at the West Gate of Edenburgh to King JAMES.

SIR,

F Nature could fuffer Rocks to move and abandon their natural places, this Town, founded on the strength of Rocks (now by the chearing, Rayes of your, Majesties prelence, taking not only motion but life) had with her Castle, Temples and Houses, moved towards you, and belought you to acknowledge her yours, and her indwellers your most humble and affectionate Subjects; And to believe how many fouls are within her circuits, to many lives are devoted to your facred person and Crown. And here Sir She offers by me to the Altar of your glory, whole. Hecatombs of most happy desires; praying allthings may prove prosperous unto you; that every Virtue and Heroick Grace which make a Prince eminent, may with a long and bleffed Govermentattend you. Your Kingdomes flourishing abroad with Bays, at home with Olives; presenting you Sir, who art the strong Key of this little World of Great Britain, with those keys which cast up the Gates of her affection, and defign you power to open all the springs of the hearts of those

her most Loyal Citizens.

Yet this almost not necessary; For as the Rose at the sair appearing of the morning Sun, displayeth and spreadeth her purpless. So at the very noise of your happy return to this your native Countrey; their hearts (if they could have shined through their brests) were with joy and sair hopes made spatious. Nor did they ever in all parts seel a more comfortable heat, than the glory of your presence at this time dar-

teth upon them.

The old forget their age and look fresh and young at the appearance of so gracious a Prince; the young bear a part in your Welcom, desiring many years of life, that they may serve you long; all have more joils than tongues. For as the words of other nations far go beyond and surpass the affection of their hearts; So in this nation the affection of their hearts is far above all they can express by words. Daign then Six from the highest of Majesty, to look down on their lowness and embrace it; accept the homage of their humble minds; accept their gratefull zeal; and for deeds accept that great good will which they have ever carryed to the high deserts of your Ancestors; And shall ever to your own, and your Royal-Race, whilst those rocks shall be overshadowed with buildings, buildings inhabited by men, and while men be induced, either with counsel or courage, or enjoy any peice of Reason, Sense, or Life.

### An Apologetical Letter.

March 2. 1635.

My LORD,

State are challenged, it must be a great hazard to write them, and a greater to send them from home, and the most to send them to one so near the Helm as is, your Lordship, who the next day (perhaps) may put in the Princes hands what is sent him. And then, though what is set down may be free of great faults, yet must it pass and be understood as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. But what Marius Giminus said to Julius Casar, may be said to King Charles; Casar, qui apud te audent dicere, magnitudinem tuam ignorant; qui non audent, bumanitatem. And writing to your Lordship I know to whom I write. Thus the way of glory lying neer the Gates of danger, I have adventured this sheet of Paper of which I beseech your Lordship to be both Judge and Patron.

What a noise hath been raised in this Countrey by prosecuting a piece of writing, supposed to be derogatory to the Honour of the Kings Majesty! No times have been without such men. Wise men keep their thoughts locked up in the Cabinets of their Brests, and suffer the faults of times patiently; Fools rail, cry out, but amend nothing. What ever advise hath been given for the putting of Libellers to the extremity of Law, I would say (withall humble respect to grave Statesmen) that in a matter of a Calumnie and reproach with Subjects, a Prince can do nothing more fitting his own fame and reputation, than to flight and contemn them, as belonging nothing to him; and that twere better to neglect, than be too curious in fearthing after the Authors. So Theodofins, Honorius Arcadius were wont to fay, if any Man speak ill of the Emperour, if he do it of lightness, it is to contemned; if of madness, to be pittyed; if of injury, to be remitted. And Alexander the Great used to lay, Regium est benefacere & male audire; or as Plutarch reporteth it, Regium est a quibus male audias, magis esfe iis beneficum. Nero (otherwise a terrible Prince) when that Pasquil was given out against him?

> Quis neget Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem? Sustulit bic Matrem, sustubit ille Patrem.

Or as D 10N citeth it,

Nero, Orestes, Alemaon, Margontovoi.

He took no notice of it, followed not the Writers with aany punishment, sought them not, as ye find in Suctonius, Et quosdam ad Judicem delatos ad Senatum, affici graviore poena probibuit. Writings which we scorn and make none account, of themselves vanish and turn into nought. If we chase and fret, it would appear that we have been therein touched, and vively see in them our own faults and misdemeanor tax-

ed and laid open.

If these Papers for the Kings honour were not to be seen and read, or if they did derogate to the same of the Nobles, why were they not suppressed and hidden? but is this the way to suppress and hide them? to imprison, arraign, banish, execute the persons near whom they are found? or is it not rather to turn them a piece of the Story of the Time to make such a noise about them, and by seeking to avoid the smoak to fall into the sire? what we would most evite and shun, to be the Authors to bring upon our own heads?

What

What gained Queen Elizabeth the twenty three of her Reign, by cutting off the hands of Stubbes and Page on a Scaffold for writing that Book against her marriage with the Duke of Anjon, fave that out of horror of that new and unpractifed punishment, the people acknowledged her to be the right and not uncertain daughter of King Henry the eight and she began to be feared, where before she was beloved of her Subjects? whom a people fear they hate, and whom they hate they wish taken way. A Prince should be more violent in revenging other mens quarrels than his own. That unfortunate Duke of Buckingham in the time of Richard the third, could make good use, against the Succession of the Race of Edward the fourth, in his Speech to the Commons of of London, by remembring them of the strange proceedings of King Edward against a Merchant named Burdet: who dwelling at the fign of the Crown, and having faid to his Son, that after his death he would make him Heritor of the Crown, meaning his own house, was for this Tale in four hours after quartered, which blot is eternally fixed to that Prince.

In the Reign of King Richard the third, who had ever known that Pasquil against three of his Courtiers, Louell,

Ratcliff, and Catiby,

The Rat, the Cat, and Louel that Dog, Rule all England under the Hog.

If his tyranny had not been mightily extended against that poor Gentleman Collingburn the Maker of it? Ye will say, it is in a Princes power to suppress such Papers by Authority; That is the only way to make all men seek them, and being found highly prize them. Tacitus telleth us of certain verses of Fabricius Veiento against Church-men and Senatours, which were condemned to be burut; as long as the reading and finding of them was dangerous, they were much sought for, and with danger read: but being afterwards licentiate to be read, and the liberty of having them obtained, they were forgotten and no man cared for them-

No Prince, how great soever, can oblish Pens, nor will the Memorials of ages be extinguished by present power; the posterity rendering to every one, his due honour and blame. It is true that great men should direct their great care to Fame and hold nothing more dear unto them; and he who contempneth it, neglecteth those actions by which it is acquired: But it is pitty men should be more careful and studious of same for times to come, in which they are not, than of

honesty in the present times in which they live.

Some-

Sometimes it is great wildom in a Prince not to reject and disdain them who freely tell him his duty, and open to him his misdemeanours to the Common-wealth, and the surmises and umbrages of his people and Council for the amending disorders, and bettering the form of his Government. if a man should tell King Charls, That there is none in all his Kingdoms here can reckon himself Lord of his own goods amongst so many taxes and taillages, so much pilling and polling. So that substance is dayly plucked and pilled from honest men to be lashed out amongst unthrifts, that as Thucydides writes of the great plague in his time at Atbens, Men feeing no hope of fafety spent all they had in one night: So the uncertainty of enjoying and holding what they have for the present drawes the thrifty and unthrifty to one end, for no man being fure of Lands, less of moneyes, every man is turned in a desperate carlessness of his estate.

As to tell him also about this Subject who is the subject of this Letter, the People say, Kings seeking Treason shall find Land, and seeking Land shall find Treason: The denyal of a Princes desire was the destruction of an innocent Naboth; the voice of the people should not be kept up from the ears of a Prince.

As to unfold to a King, if Usury be not lawful at all (for it is against Nature that money should beget money, and not tolerate by the Mosaical Law, and in Ezekiel, cap. 18. v. 13. it is reckoned amongst the roaring sins, such as are Adulterie and bloudshed) it being a sin in the persons of subjects, it is a greater sin in the person of a Prince; for any sin isgreater in the person of a Prince, then in the persons of subjects: As sin was worse and greater in Angels than men. Nothing is prositable to a Prince which is not joined with honor; and the State of Kings unless it stand in purenes and sidelity, it cannot subsist in power.

As to tell King Charles, what a strange thing it is to swear a man for the true value of his own Substance. Since the valuing of Subjects Lands and Rents, Rents were never less, nor the Lands worse; a secret scourge of God having sollowed it, the Countrey scarce affording bread to the Labourers of it.

Remember Davids numbring the people. In the times of King Henry the eight, Regnante Cardin, Volseio, this was held uncouth, strange and terrible; and no wonder if men scare and start at it now, under a Prince of so meek a Spirit, so innocently good: who preferreth peace before war, rest before business, honesty before prosit. None of all his kingdome, no, not one being more holy, more chaste, nor a better man; in whom raigneth shamesastness and modesty and

Partence, taking all wordly crosses in good part: never gaping for glory, nor thirting after riches: but only studying the health of his soul, peace of his Kingdomes, and how to advance the holy Church, and restore her to her sust Rents and integrity. But God knoweth what he hath predestinated and ordained for the Scourge of this Country, against whose

Ordinance prevaileth no counsel.

A Prince should be advertised that the hatred and diffast of ment present estates and fortunes setteth them on work and maketh them exceeding earnest to seek novations; for finding themselves plunged in the beggarie of a miserable eflate, as many do believe, it turneth not them bale, nor keepeth them under, but raileth in them a mad delire to change their for une; and this hath been the enligh of Male-con. tents to attempt and enterprize dangerous matters; for it hath often been found that nothing hath fooner armed a people than poverty, and poverty hath never fo often been brought upon a Nation by the unfruitfulnels of the Earth. by dilasters of Sess, and other human accidents, as by the Avarice of the Officers and Favourites of Princes; who are brought foolishly to believe that by tearing of the skins of of the flock they shall turn the Shepheard rich. It is no property of a good Shepheard to Thear often his flock, and ever to milk them. Nor is it of a Prince to gall and perpetually afflict a people by a terrible Exchequer. Brutorum fe Regem facit qui premit suos. Now in such Theams it were not evil for a Prince to read Jan Marianat and George Euchanans piece de jure Regni apud Scotos, for his own private and the publick good.

Princes have in their actions this disadvantage, that in matters of wrong and injuries concerning their Subjects, though they sometimes suffer, by reason of their power, being thought stronger, they are ever esteemed to do the wrong, which should move them to abstrain from all violent courses, and

think really their Subjects loffes are their own.

Ye will then say, the case of Princes is pittiful if Writers of insamous Libels be not rigorously punished; without all question the Law is just and necessary against them. But in some cases good Princes never sollow the rigour and extremity of punishment set down by their Laws, no, not against the naughtiest Subjects, and especially when the case concerneth their own particulars. There is much to be considered in the convoy of such Libels; If they contain Truchs there is small wrong in such papers, as to call Mary Magdalen a Sinner, Matthewa Publican, Thomas a Misbeliever, Paul a Persecutor, Peter a Denyer of his Master, and the rest suggestives from him, and these are to be slighted and past over.

If they contain mixed truths and apparences, they may be neglected; If they admit no interpretation, but true and flat railing, then is a Princes patience to be tryed, and the Libel to be fcorned. If they propound novelty and causes of fedition upon apparent grounds, they are to be answered, and by good reason to be overthrown. If they be prefented by way of Supplications for redreffing of errours in the State, it is a question whether they be Libels or not. That Supplication of Humphre, Duke of Gloncefter to King Henry the fixth of England against the Cardinal of Winchester Archbishop of York may have place amongst Libels; for the King is taxed there of notable dotage. As that by the counsel of the Cardinal, he had set at Liberty the King of Scots, fuffered his Jewels and houshold-stuff to be sold, granted the Cardinal a Charter of Pardon for taking up his Rents, which were sufficient to have maintained the wars in France many years. The fetting of the Duke of Orleance at liberty, against the Duke of Burgundy the great friend of the English, and many other points. Yet this being done by way of Supplication, for redress of wrongs in the State, he was not threatned for (perhaps) verity, but remitted to the Council, and what for fear, and what for favor (faith the English History) the whole matter was winked at touching the Duke, and nothing said against the Cardinal. Miferia summa ubi de injuria conqueri pro delicto habetur.

These who set their Prince on work to follow and persue fuch an idle piece of Paper, if they had fair Judges, and powerful enemies neer the Court, may themselves be brought within compass of that same punishment, which they would have laid upon others; as Perillus was brought to take an Essay of his own brazen Bull: for no better are they which relate, divulgate and are occasioners to have infamous Libels published, than they which write them. And these men have done what in them lay to make that Paper publike, and have recorded in the Annals of this Kingdom to all ages, what should have been smothered in the darkest pits of Oblivion. They have often affembled the Kings Majesties Subjects to the great charges and vain attendance of many Noblemen and Barons to fee their passions put forward. They have busied the Prince to condemn others by power (a Minister of their attempts ) and not purge himself to po-Iterity; for such a Paper should have been answered by a Pen, not by an Ax. There is no Prince living, no, nor dead, but Subjects have and do both write and speak of after their Augustus in a Letter to Tiberius, Noli in hacre indagere et nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me loquatur males satis est enive se boc babemus ne quis malefacere possit. And

Tiberius \

Tiberius in the beginning of his raign (though after he killed Cremutius Codrus for words) was wont to fay, in Civitate libera linguam quoque liberam esse debere. Wise Princes have never troubled themselves much about talkers; weak spirits cannot suffer the liberty of judgements, nor the indiscretion of tongues. To strive to restrain them, is the work of bussie Bodies, who would fain have somewhat to do, but know not what, nor how to help Domitian to kill gnats with his Dagger; having won points and conclusions heretofore in the State beyond their hopes, they begin to softer great and shameful hopes beyond the reach of all obtaining. A Prince should be such towards his Subjects as he would have God eternal towards him, who sull of mercy spareth peopled Cities, and darteth his Thunders amongst the vast and wilde Mountains.

#### To ARABELLA Countess of Lothian.

Madam,

As those Antients who when they had given over with credit any facultie wherein they excelled, were wont to offer the Tools and Instruments of their Art to the Shrine of some Deity: My Musical recreations giving place to more laborious, serious, (my Lute these many daies (like my mind) lying out of tune, keeping no harmony in perfect discord) I offer these airs and tabulature to your Ladiships harmonious Virtues; and to whom could they more deservedly appertain, than unto her whose goodness of nature, and eminent known virtues of mind, may justly intitle the onely Grace and Muse of our Northern Climate. Though the Gift be not much worth, I hope your Ladiship will daign to accept it as if it were a greater and more precious from a Giver brought already in admiration of your Ladiships worth, and who desireth nothing more than to remain

Your Ladiships to command.

W. DRUMMOND.

To Isabella Countess of Perth.

Madam,

Your Courtesse hath prevented me, it being mine to offer you thanks, both for esteeming me worthy so honourable a Task, and for measuring those lines according

ding to affection, and not their worth; for if they had any, it was all (as the Moon hath her light) borrowed from the Rayes of your Ladiships own invention. But this quality becometh well your sweet disposition, and the generosity of that Noble Stem of which you have your birth; as doth the erecting of that notable Monument to your all-worthy Lord; by the which ye have not onely obliged all his kinred now living, but in ages to come the unborn posterity to render you immortal Thanks. Your Desert and good opinion of me have by a gracious violence (if I can be so happy as to do you service) won me to remain, your Ladiships

Ever to Command,

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable JOHN Earl of PEARTH.

My Noble LORD,

Though as Glaucus saies to Diomed in Homer, Like the Race of Leaves, the Race of Man is,

that deserves no question: nor receives his being any other breath; the Wind in Autumn strowes the Earth with old leaves, then the Spring the Woods with new indews; yet I have ever thought the knowledge of kinred, and the Genealogies of the antient families of a Countrey, a matter fo far from contempt, that it deserveth highest praise. Herein confifteth a part of the knowledge of a mans own felf. is a great spur to virtue to look back on the worth of our In this is the memory of the dead preserved with the line. living: being more firm and honourable than any Epitaph. The living know that band which tyeth them to others. By this man is distinguished from the reasonless, and the noble of Men from the baser fort. For it often falleth out, though we cannot tell how, for the most part that generosity followeth good Birth and Parentage. This moved me to effay this Table of your Lordships house, which is not interiour to the best in this Isle and greatest. It is but roughly (I confess) hewen, nakedly limmed, and after better informations to be amended. In Pieces of this kind, who

doth according to such light as he receiveth, is beyond reprehension.

> Your Lordships humble Servant and Kinsman,

> > W. Drummond.

# To the Right Honourable J. Earl of T.

My Lord, "He Ocean, though great Rivers with many currents pay him Tribute, disdains not to receive also the lesfer loyal, though ignoble, Brooks, which by one only Urn powre themselves into his bosom; no more will your Lordthip, after the many congratulations of your Countrey, of the State, of your great Friends, reject the applause of the Muses (fair, though contemned, Mistress) who by me offer this Poly of Flowres to your Lordship (who is the flowre of Nobleness) in acknowledgment of your Lordships constant zeal towards them, and their many obligations towards you, congratulating your prosperous Fortunes, which they wish to encrease, and praying the heavens at last may turn fo propitious to virtue and true worth, that though they do not reward them upon Earth, yet the world may see that they do not suffer them ever to lie oppressed. They have fair hopes that the advancement of your Lordship is the advancement of them, for the body preceding, the shadow must follow. Your Lordship being near the helm of the State, they exspect a new Saturnian world : knowledge must florish, ignorance decay (as Mists before the Sun ) Innocency live guarded, oppression trampled, and they shall no longer hereafter have occasion to wish, ask, or complain.

Your Lordships Servant,

W. Drummond.

To the truely Noble S.R. Carre, Gentleman of the Kings Majesties Bed-Chamber.

SIR,

Ow joyful were all here who either love worth in others or are conscious of any part of it in themselves, to hear the

the happy event of your latedanger? but yet the apprehenfion of what might have fallen forth (if Providence had not otherwise disposed ) doth still with a pensive fear possesse their minds. It was too much hazarded in a point of Honour; why should true Valour have answered fierce Barbarity, Nobleness Arrogency, Religion Impiety, Innocency Malice? The disparagement being so vast. Was it for knowing this when we left us, that ye graved with your Diamond in a Window;

Frail Glass thou bearest this name as well as I, And none doth know in which it first shall dye.

And had ye then to venter to the hazard of a Combate the exemplary of virtue, and the Mules Sanduary? the lives of twenty fuch as his who hath fallen, in Honon's Ballatice would not counterpoise your one. Ye are too good for thefe times, in which, as in a time of Plague, men must once be fick, and that deadly, ere they can be affured of any fafety. Would I could perfuade you in your fweet walks at home to take the prospect of Court Shipwracks; forgive mine importunity, your many courteffes in my behalf, and the World, which is a Witness of them, force me to bear a part in all your Fortunes, and ever, whilft I remain my ielf to be the constant of the constant of the form of the constant of the con

February 10. State of the state

To the Right Honourable Earl of L.

en touth, ha inot a tre cooled this fervency or true to.

for cour gracie of them and many court fire office me, It inoul i acmice py o energy in broad it is sm

IF that duty I ow to your Lording, and love to your honourable Father, I have adventured to bear a part in his Oblequies, a work I must confess profule; no verses of mine, nor any others, having power roadd any thing to his noble Memory, being so strongly upholden by your Lordship, and his other excellent children, that it is like to be contemporary with the World. For whatsoever hath now failed of the honour I intended, I befeech your Lordship to accept my serviceable and infaffible love for all supplement. If your Lordship esteem these among the Scutcheons, Colours, and other day-lathing Ornaments of the Funeral pomp, I shall hold them fufficiently

fufficiently honoured, and in what is within the compasse of my power, remain,

Your Lordships ever to command,

W. Drummond.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth.

My Noble Lord,

IN this storm of the State I had resolved to set my affairs in order, exposing all to the hazard of what might fall forth, and fly to the shadow of your Lordship, finding at this time, that not to prove true, Minima Parvitate sua tuta funt; for the humility of my fortune, and my retired and harmless form of living, could not save me from being imployed to serve here the ambition of the great Masters of the State; as if I had no more to do with time, I was appointed to spend it in attending the Committee of the Shire; at my first initiation charged to be at that fatal service, and horrible execution of Dunglass they directed me to ravage and plunder the more peaceable neighbours about ; this Trojan Horse laboured to give me a command over Horses. All which imployments being contrary to my education and estate, knowing, that Pareil ser Pareil a nulle Puissance, and that they were not my lawful Masters, I shuned and performed no more than pleased me, which acquired me no small Spight. If the Parlament of England, and matters fince fallen forth, had not a little cooled this fervency or frenzy. I knew not where to have found fanctuary, fave with your Lordship, nor knew I what thanks to render your Lordship, for your gracious protection, and many courtefies offered me. If I should facrifice my fortunes, liberty, life, I would rather lose them for your Lordship, than for any Democracy. Your Lordships favours shall be ever be remembred, and fought to be deserved in what is within the compass of performing, and power of

Your Lordships

Humble Servant.

Hawthorn-Din Decemb. 1.1640.

W. Drummond.

## To the Learned and Worthy Gentle-woman.

Worthy M.

hould be too ambitious, I will not fay arrogant. if I thought that honour, which you give me in your delicate Verses to be due to the honoured, and not rather to the honourer. They reflect and turn back unto your felf ( as to a more renowned wonder) that praise by defert, which ve bestow upon me of your meer courtesie. Alas my Muses are of no such value to deserve the blazon of so pregnant and rare a wit. Perhaps ye raised them to show the highness of your spirit, which ever transcendeth mean measures or to make known how excellently ye can praise any thing that you please. But howsoever (praise being the reward of virtue, and proceeding from fo found a judgement, and one so praise-worthy) I will think hereafter my Muses worthy praile, because ye held them such, or if they were such before, that they were such because they were ordained to be praised and loved of you. I can but admire your ingine and thank your courtefie, and wish that time and fortune may prove so gracious, accomplishing my desires, to make me know how to acquite them, till which occasion as ever you have me,

Your most

#### To his Worthy Friend, S. G. K.

SIR.

A 7Hen out of curiofity this last week I had entred these large and spatious Galleries, in which the Fair of St. German is kept, and had viewed the diverse Merchandize and Wares of the many nations at that Mart, above the rest I was much taken with the daintiness of the many Pourtraids there to be feen. The devices, Posies, Ideas, Shapes, Draughts, of the Artificers were various, nice, and plea-Scarce could the wandring thought light upon any Storie, Fable, Gayetie, which was not here represented to If Cebes the Theban Philosopher made a Table hung in the Temple of Saturn, the Argument of hisrare Moralities, and Jovius and Marini, the Pourtraids in their Galleries and Libraries the subject of some books; I was brought brought to think I should not commit a great fault, if I sent you for a token, from this Mart a Scantling of this Ware: which affordeth a like contentment to the Beholder and possessour.

The Pictures of the Roman Emperours appeared in one Plate, those of the Bishops with the Triple Crowns in ano. ther, with those of all the Kings and great Princes in Europe. Lucretia was showing her bleeding brest; on this Table Fioraher bewitching Twins, on that not far from these Mars is furprized by the Lemnian, and the Senate of the Gods are all laughing; near by Jupiter is comming down in a golden Showre in his Danaes lap. One would have wished Argos his eyes to gaze on Hellen in the prime of her beauty, as when the Phrygian Youth stole her away, or The eus, in one place of the Table, and see her distilling tears for the ruin of Troy The Agamemnon of Timantes at the facrifice of Hermione was here to be feen. And what did furpafs that in Invention, a Painter had hidden the imperfection of the work of his Work, who having painted a Lady which had but one eye, he had set her face so cunningly that her one fide appearing onely to the view, left a defire in the Beholder, to wish for the other, which one could not but imagine beautiful, at which she seemed to smile. The Father of our Factions, Meonides himself, was here represented, with closed eyes, and a long beard of the colour of the Night, to whom was the honour of Mantua adjoined, his head wreathed with Baies, his face was somewhat leng, his cheeks scarce with a small down discrying his Sex; that they might be known after so many years, the Crafts-man had fet down, They were thus standing in the Roman Capitol. The Cyprian Goddess was in divers shapes represented. The first was naked as she appeared on the Hills of Ida, or when the arose from her foamy Mother, but that she should not blush, the Painter had limmed her entring a Green Arbour, and looking over her shoulder; so that there were only seen her back and face. Another had drawn her naked, her face, brefts, belly to the view exposed, her blind child by her, but to cover that which delighted Mars fo much, he madeher arm descend to take hold of Cupid, who did imbrace her. third had drawn her lying on a Bed with stretched out arms, in her hand she presented to a young man (who was adoring her, and at whom little Love was directing a Dart) a fair face, which with much ceremony he was receiving, but on the other fide, which should have been the hinder part of that head, was the Image of death; by which mortality he furpassed the others more than they did him by Art. It were to be wished this picture were still before the eyes of dolting Lovers.

On a Table there was a horse tumbling on his back with his four feet towards the Heaven, which was thought to be Sejanus to fatal to his Masters, being so proportionable and to the life painted, a German offered Gold for him, but he accused the Painter that he had not painted him running: which the Painter eafily amended by turning up of the other fide of the Table: so small a distance is between the extremities of mortall things. So with little pains a countenance laughing is made to weep, and one weeping to laugh. Whole thoughts are so sad and fixed to the cares of this World, which could not have been sequestrated for a time from them, and delighted with the alpect of the countenances of the Ladies of the differing Climates of the Globe of this Earth, represented unto us as the blazing afteritms of Heaven? The Spanish seeming proud and disdainful, but that her eye spoke somewhat else, and her pale colour ap proaching to ashes, did show she harboured languishing per-The French looking Courteous and toward, but such courtesse and towardness seemed not to entertain base imaginations. The English mild and humble with such eyes as Venus used to smile with in the daies of Homer. Venetian Lady appeared the Noblest Lover, for the neither thundered dispair nor promised hope, yet did she lend her car to the foul-charming founds of a Lute. The Roman wasalmost naked from the waste upwards, discovering the Sistering Apples of her Brest, and what might be, without ablush, seen, which would have rowsed old Nestor. Grecian resembled Our English, but that her face was more Round; She wore on her head a Garland, which made her looks more grave than the Others. The Turkifb differed little from the Roman, only She somewhat appeared more Their The Moorish had hereyes black, rolling and wanton, and her face was as black as her eyes. Where ( who could think it, fave he who did fee it? ) by the comely proportion of her face, her shining hair enriched with Jewels, and her ears beautified with Gemms, she was near as pleasant (beauty mustering it self in blackness and a comely behaviour) as those others of Europe. I had almost forgotten the Belgick and these neighbour Countreys, in whom the pure natural colours of beauty appeared. The first to show the lightness of her sex, was all in Feathers, the others differed not much from her but was further off from Art, and looked more Countrey-like.

Not far from those was Cassandra, her haires so covering her face that Lycophron might well have known her. The

Sybels by her fighed out their Prophecies.

To these was joined the Picture of a young Ladie, whose

hair drew neer the colour of Amber, but with such a bright lustre that it was above Gold or Amber, her eyes were somewhat green, her face round, where the Roses strove to surpass the Lillies of her Cheecks, and such an one she was simmed as Apelles would have made choise of for the beauty of Greece. She was said to be the Astrea of the Marquesse D'Uriee.

Many famous battails of the antients were represented, some of the later times, above all others the Crasts-men had striven to shew to the life the Battel of Le Panto, the slying Turks and following Christians. Some Galliasses made a sport to the winds, others all in slames in the midst of the Seas; the divers postures of fighting and perishing Souldiers with the scattered Oars, Planks and Ensigns, might have made some dream they were amidst these though in quietness, and one the Seas whilst they were safe on ground. Many Towns were here to be travailed thorough at an easie rate, Rome, Naples, Florence, Constantinople, Vienne, and without passing the Seas, London and Venice.

Here were many double Pictures, the first view shew old men and young Misers gathering carefully, the second view shew young men and prodigals spending riotously, with stultitiam patiuntur opes. Churchmen and grave Senatours consulting and seriously deliberating the one face of the Pictue represented, the other Fools dancing, Souldiers dicing and sighting. A Lady weeping over her dead Husband, accompanyed with many Mourners, the first view, the second represented her second Nuprials, Nymphs and Gallants re-

velling naked, and going to Bed.

Now when I had considered all (for these Galleries were a little All, it ye please) casting mine eyes a side I beheld on a fair Table the Pourtraicts of two which drew my thoughts to more seriousness than all the other. The sirst clad in a Sky-coloured Mantle bordered with some red, was laughing, and held out his singer by way of demonstration in scorn to another in a sable Mantle, who held his arms a cross, declined his head pittifully and seemed to shed tears. The shewed that he was Democritus, the other that he was Heraclitus. And truely considering all our actions except those which the Service and Adoration of God Almighty, they are either to be lamented or laughed at, and man is alwaies a Fool, except in Misery, which is a Whit-Stone of Judgement.

PARIS, Febr. 12.

#### To S. W.A.

SIR,

He promise given by me to a dying friend shall at this time I hope excuse mine importunity. He requested me to remember his love to you, and that desire he ever had to do you service. And though dying so lively expressed this affection that who would set it in Paper had need of his own eloquence. This remembrance he lest, made me to be in this his Executor in delivering this Legacie. Some Papers he lest also concerning some of your affairs, which because death prevented his delivering of them to me, I think are loosed in the Stuff of his Cabinet. Your absence increassed greatly that Melancholy which bereft us of him. If any thing more pretious had been lest to my Trust, ye might have been assured it had been delivered to you by your

W. DRUMMOND.

your

To the truely Noble S.R.K. Gentleman of the Kings Bed Chamber.

SIR,

Tow ever fortune' turn her Wheel I find you still your felf, and so ballasted with your own worth, that ye may out-dare any Storm. This is that Iewel which neither change of Court, nor Climates, can rob you of; of what is yours, ye have lost nothing. By this Quadran I have ever measured your height; neither here could the vapours of Court make me err.

Long since I learned not to esteem of any golden Butterflies there, but as of Counters, whose Places give them onley worth. Ye are born to act brave parts on this Theatre
of the World, as your Prince is wise, so I am assured he is
well read in Man, and knows ye are not one to be lost.
What know ye to what end that Soveraign Wisdom, who
hath hitherto been so strong a Defence unto you, hath removed you from your Countrey? By this means ye may return more welcome, more beloved, and with greater honor
than when you lest her. How oft hath plaintful means brought
men to that happiness, which in their prosperity they never could reach in their thoughts nor expect? Now since

your departure I verily think all our life to be but a Dream, and that God hath placed our happiness elsewhere. He is onely miserable and wretched who holdeth himself such: as that man onely blessed who is content with a little. Happiness consisting neither in honour nor riches, but in an equality and moderation of Desires. Forgive my free writing, I have not had leisure to vail my thoughts, your Brothers departing being so unexspected.

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth.

My Noble Lord,

A Fter a long inquiry about the Arms of your Lordships antient House, and the turning of sundry Books of Impresaes and Herauldry, I found your UNDES famous and

very honourable.

In our neighbour Countrey of England they are born, but inversed upside down, and diversified. Torquate Tasso in his Rinaldo maketh mention of a Knight who had a Rock placed in the Waves with the Word Rompe ch' il percote. And other hath the Seas waves with a Syren rifing out of them. the word Bella Maria, which is the name of some Courte-Antonio Perenotto, Cardinal Gravella had for an Impresa the Sea, a Ship in it, the word Durate out of the first of the Aneades. Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis. Tomaso de Marini Duca di terra nova had forhis Impressa the Waves with a Sun over them, the Word Nunquam siccabitur astu. Prince of Orange used for his Impresa the Waves with an Halcyon in the midft of them, the word, Mediis tranquillus in undis, which is rather an Emblemethan Impresa because the figuse is in the word. By reason of your Lordships name and the long continuance in your House to none they appertain more righly than to your Lordship. Drum is in the old Celtique and British Language an Height, and Onde in all the Countreys almost of Europe a Wave; which word is said to have bin given a inStorm by Margarite Queen of Scotland to a Gentleman who accompanied her, the first of your Lordships House. But to make an Inquiry in firnames were now too long.

W.Drummond.

#### To the truely Noble S.R.K.

Ontentments are never fo really Contentments as when they come after some calamity.

And mingling with our Joyes make them more sweet.

After your late danger and long absence by your kindly returning to your Countrey and Recovery of losed favours, this bath doubled it felf: We erre often by deeming those things hurtful. which are but changes for our greater Good; Crosses serve for many uses, and more than Magistracies decipher the Man. Brave minds like lamps are discerned when they are canopyed with the night of affliction: and like Rubies give the fairest lustre when they are rubbed. The fight of so many stately Towns and differing manners of Men, the conquest of such friends abroad, and tryall of theseat home, the leaving of your Remembrance so honourable to after times, have made you more happy in your distress, than if, like another Endymyon, ye had sleeped away that swift course of daies in the embracements of your Mistress the Court, Forgive my Comparison, for if Courts be changing Moons; why should not favorities be Endymions? I write often unto you, for that in way of friendship I had rather be charged for super-abundancy than defect : from him who is no more his own than by respect and affection yours.

W. Drummond.

To his much honoured friend M.A. J. Physitian to the K I N G.

T is more praise worthy in Noble and excellent things to know something, though little, than in mean and ignoble matters to have a perfect knowledg. Amongstall those rare Ornaments of the mind of Man, Poesse hath had a most eminent place, and been in high esteem, not only at one time, and in one Climate, but during all times and through those parts of the world where any ray of humanity and civility hath shined. So that she hath not unworthily deserved the name of the Mistress of humane life, the height of Eloquence, the quintessence of knowledge, the loud Trumpet of Fame, the language of the Gods. There is not any thing

thing endureth longer: Homers Troy hath outlived many Republikes, and both the Roman and Gracian Monarchies; the subfifteth by her felf; and after one demeaner and continuance her beauty appeareth to all ages. In vain have some men of late (Transformers of every thing) consulted upon her Reformation, and endeavoured to abstract her to Meta. physical Ideas, and Scolastical Quiddities, denuding her of her own habits, and those Ornaments with which she hath a. mused the world some thousand years. Poesse is not a thing that is yet in the finding and fearch, or which may be otherwife found out, being already condescended upon by all Nations, and as it were established jure Gentium, amongst Greeks, Romans, Italians, French, Spaniards. Neither do I think that a good Piece of Poefie, which Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, Bartas, Ronfard, Boscan, Garcilasso (if they were alive) and had that language, could not understand, and reach the fense of the writer. Suppose these men could find out some other new Idea like Poesse, it should be held as if Nature should bring forth some new Animal, neither Man, Horse, Lyon, Dog, but which had some Members of all, if they had been proportionably and by right Symetry fet What is not like the Antients and conform to those Rules which hath been agreed unto by all times, may (indeed) be something like unto Poesse, but is no more Poesse than a Monster is a man. Monsters breed admiration at the first, but have ever some strange loathsomness in them at last. I deny not but a Mulet is more profitable than some Horses, yet is it neither Horsenor Als, and yet it is but a Mulet. There is a Taile told of a poor miserable Fellow accused of Bestiality; and he at his Arraignment confessed, That it was not out of any evil intention he had done it, but onely to procreat a Monster, with which ( having nothing to fustain his life) he might win his bread going about the Countrey. For the like cause it may be thought these men found out their new Poesse differing from the Matters, Manners, Rules of formerages; either they did not fee the way of Poefie or were affraid to enterit. The verses of Camillus Quernus as they are imitated by Strada feem very plaufible and to admiration to some, but how far they are off right Poesse children may guels. These mens new conceptions approach neerer his, than to the Majesty and Stateliness of the great Poets. The contempt and undervaluing of verses hath made men spare their travel in adorning them; but Poefe, as it hath overcom ignorance, at last will overcom envy and comtempt. This I have been bold to write unto you, not to give you any instruction, but to manifest mine obedience to your request. W. D.

#### To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sterlin.

When the pittiful news came of so dear Funerals, though I had an intention to have written to your Lordship, I restrained my self, both because your wound was flagrant, and that I had not an argument of comfort. which was not your own. Nothing is now left me but to manifest that the sense of this loss could not but perplex him grievously who never made any difference between your fortunes and his own. I hold my felf Copartner of all your Griefs as I have been of your prosperities. I know your Fatherly affrction, I know too your constancy, which being seasoned with piety, will not suffer you to repine at that which is the determinate will of God. Your erudition and experience instruct you, that such accidents should be taken in a good part, and chearfully, which are not incident to usalone, and which by our fighs, tears, plaints, we may not evite and put far from us; ye must not attend till time mitigate your languor, for this do the vulgar fort of men, with fola dies poterit tantum lenire dolorem. A wise man should prevent and anticipate time, over-run newborn Grief, which is an ungrateful Guest, thrusting out and ran facking the Masters of their Inn. I who am conscious to your patience and wisdom, am affured ye have perfor med all this already, upon which confidence I will leave off to trouble you further, or lay a heavier burthen and needless task upon my felf.

W.Drummond.

#### To----

When the never spareth the most Worthy? who hath ever yet in many excellencies been eminent, whom she hath not either after one fashion or other, if not trampled yet tosed? and make not a long search in the old ages of the world, and through the Mists of Antiquity, but look upon our own Times, and our Fathers. Ye have Sidney cropped in the vigour of his Youth by a murthering Bullet; Rawleigh brought to a satal Scassold; la Nove, with the Marques D' Orfee complaining in miserable Prisons; Tasso samishing in the like Thraldom; the two Counts of Mirandala Specta-

cles of Pitty and Cruelty, the one by too soon a Death (if death can be too soon) the other by being assassinated by his neerhstkinsemen. As if Excellencies were the only Object of Disasters, and some secret influence laboured to make the bravest of men and the basest equal. Or that the superiour powers thought Glory to belong only to them, and no praise-worthy Actions should befal poor Mortals. Yet should they not envy silly men a dusty honour, which in some small moments of time vanisheth, and reacheth no surther than the narrow bounds of some sew Climates of this small Globe of the Earth. We may doubt whether Excellencies and Heroical Virtues were to be desired with so many dangers and miseries lackying them, or a homebred, untaught, rude Plebeian life.

W. DRUMMOND.

ToS. W. A.

SIR,

Y filence this time past proceeded no waies of any for-I getfulness of you, but from my many new cares; and forrows. The loss of so many friends this season hath estranged me from my felf, and turned my mirth into mourning; what civil arms and discord have performed in other king. domes of Europe, a still mortality hath done in this. So many Funeralsthese many years have not been seen as in this There are few bands of kinred, focieties, acquaintances, friendship, which by death are not broken here, without respect of Age, vigour, ranck, quality; and justly this mortality might claim the name of Pestilence, if the Dead were deprived of customary burial. Well have some Astrological Divines gueffed that this year should be the great Judgement: What is recorded of the years 100. and 120. that Church-yards were not ample enough to contain the dead bodies, but that new ground was digged up, is true in this; and what of the year 1 248. that the third of mankind was sweeped from the Earth: we may say that though this Countrey hath not lost the third, yet that the Almighty providence hath taken away the tenth part of the People. This is (perhaps) a part of that Judgement which the late blazing lights of Heaven did signifie unto us, the defects of the Sun, besides the malignant influences of other calestial Bodies. This one year is enought to make men hereafter, if not altogether believe, yet fear Aftrological Predictions, which

which though they fail in particulars, yet strangely hold true in some generals. Heavens I hope shall preserve you ad molliora et meliora tempora; to be a witness and Recorder of their Just Proceedings on this Globe of the Earth, for the Good of your self, your Friends, and all that love you.

1623.

W. Drummond.

# The Oath of a KNIGHT.

Shall fortifie and defend the true boly Catholique and Christian

Religion presently possessed at all my Power.

I shall be loyal and true to my Soveraign Lord the King his Majestie, and do bonour and reverence to all Orders of Chivalrie and to the noble office of Arms.

I shall fortifie and defend Justice to the uttermost of my power,

but feed or favour.

Ishall never sie from the Kings Majesty my Lord and Master, or bis Lieutenant in time of battel or medly with dishonour.

Ishall defend my native Countrey from all aliens and strangers

at all my power.

I shall maintain and defend the honest Adoes and Quarrels of all Ladies of Honour, Widows, Orphans, and Maids of good Fame.

I shall do diligence, wherever I bear tell there is any Traytours, Murtherers, Rovers, and Masterfull Theeves and Outlaws, that suppress the Poor, to bring them to the Law at all my Power.

I shall maintain and defend the Noble and gallant State of Chevalrie with Horses, Harnesses, and other Knightly Apparel to my Power.

I shall be diligent to enquire and seek to have the knowledge of all Articles and points touching or concerning my duty contained

in the Book of Chevalrie.

All and sundry the Premisses I oblige me to keep and fulfil, so belp me God by my one hand, and by God himself.

### To his loving Coufin----

IF wishes could have place or prevail, I wish ye could be moved to separate your self from the frequent conversation and company of that envious Gentleman, otherwise keep your felf to close and fecret in your demeanour, that of your chief and most Soveraign actions he be altogether All other evils may be remedied, envy excepted; which, though they have the worst that are affected with it, yet as a plague it doth hurt to all who approach it. Give me an ambitious man, though he were of a more transcendent concest than Pride her self, If I render him imagined honour, praise him, use him with all due respects, I shall in a little time turn him my friend. Place me with a Damouret, if I cope not with him, if I praise him in the presence of his Mistress, he will be ready to perform like dutiesto me. If I shall converse with an avaritious, a little gain will win him to me: onely the envious with nothing is fatisfied nor appealed, no drug can cure that plague, if thou wouldest amend it, it must be with thine own life. There remaineth no way to make him thine, fave by turning miserable, that thus he may pitty thee. The envious doth not mark and observe any good in another, but fifteth onely imperfections, and letting a part conditions and qualities, which are praise-worthy in person, turneth his eyes to those few blemishes which may be reprehended and amended. Each other Vice feemeth humane: Envy the Vice and Sin of Divels. A strange gangren of a perverse mind, that others happiness should turn it miserable.

What I have elfe to advertise you of, expect in my next.

W. Drummond.

December 6.

## To S. M. D.

Tis much argued amongst those men, who will have a reason of everything, why good men ordinarily are deserted of Fortune, and many evils arise to preferments. The first answer is, that lewd, bold men have strong fanta-fies, and attempt upon many divers matters, which good men by their bashfulnesse and towardnesse never essay to reach. The next answer is, That lewd men suffer them-

felves

felves to be guided by nature, or the starry influences, or rather (being Fools) give themselves over (like Beasts) to be carried by their appetites, and the virtuous are sed by reason which often contrachecketh it self, and by long meditation and advise what to do, leaveth off all doing: and suffereth others in the interim to carry the Garland; ye have spent now many years at Court, and yet that Clock which hath strock ten to others, is still pointing at one or two to you. Have you not yet taken a distasting and Saciety of that old Mistress of yours the Court? her long delay in preferring you tells you are too honest. Me thinks ye should have a desire to recreate your self at last in your native Countrie with the remembrances of passed Contentments at Court, as your Kinsemen here have a longing after so long a time to see you, and unanimously now salute you.

May 12.

W. Drummond,

To his loving Friend A, Cunningham L. of Barnes.

His is no small Miserie of us Islanders that, as exiled. we can not take a view of Gods fair and spacious Earth without croffing the stormy, braking and deceitful Seas; And it is no less a milerie here in this part of our Island, that can hardly repair unto you demi-Islanders without dancing and toiling on your arm of Sea; of all pastimes and exercifes I like failing worft, and had rather attend the Hunters and Faulkoners many daies, ere I sailed one half day: It it is a part of Noahi Judgement: If it shall be my good fortune to atrive in your Island, prepare no Games of strength for our recreation, and after a saciety of discourse and reading, let us not trouble our selves with any sedentary pastimes; the Dies are for the end of a Drum amongst Souldiers, the Tables for Goutish and apoplectick persons to make them move their joints; the Cards for women to observe their discretion. But if we shall have a defire of change of thoughts, let us not retule the Cheffe, the onely Princely Game (next Government) in the World, yea the true Image and Pourtraict of it, and training of Kings. Here is a King defended, by a Lady, two Bishops, two Knights, at the end of the Lifts, with two Rocks, Forrelfes,

les or Cafties. Before those to prepare and make plain the pallages, march eight Pawns, Enfantes perduer expoled to all desperate Services, every one standing for their Monarch. The Deviler of this would represent unto us a game of State. First for the Bishops; that nearest to Kings should be Eccle. fisftical grave Men, who by oblique, traverse and mystical waves (fuch is their poffage) should effectuate their Masters defigns and fatety. Though the Knights be not alwaies hearest to the Kings, it falleth forth that even as the Knights at Game of Chesse by their leap, giving an Escheke to their Kings, the Kings are constrained to change places, from which by covering and overshadowing themselves with fome other piece, in any other eschekes they may escape free and exempted. So there is no danger in the State a King should so much fear as the revolt of his Nobles. For the Towers or Castles named Rooks, these are the walled Towns, which serve for a Refuge for the conservation of the Kingdom. Here is a King resembled who marcheth but one pace, whilst all the other Pieces of the Chesse boord put themselves now on the offensive, then on the defensive, for his fafety. To teach Kings that it is not for them upon whole life the peace and happiness of the whole subjects rely, to expose themselves every shock and hazard of battel, as a Captain. Sith for the tafety of the King, he may make an extraordinary leap from his own station to the station of the Rook or Tower, as to a Fortesse holdable and impreg nable against the greatest assaults of his Enemies. vilege of the Lady is confiderable, the may fometimes progreffe on the waies of the Bishops, then on those of the Rooks or Towers, only the is hindred and inhibited from the leap (kip bound of the Knights, as a thing undecent: Though Plato in his Republick permitteth women to fight. The Game is concluded with the Mate of the King, that is a fool or madman in the Italian. If the other pieces keep not themselves, they may, as dead, be taken and removed off the Cheffe-boord, but the King by loss of men loseth not the victory, he may by a hazard carry it with the meanest of his pieces, as his Army is wifely and warily conducted. The King receiveth not that difgrace in imagination as that they dream of his taking, but is enough that they bring up. on him such confusion and disarray, that blocked up and denuded of all support he cannot march to any Hold or Station. Which brought to pais, we tell he is mated, that is, either madman or fool. To fignifie what disafter so ever befall a King we should not attempt on his person. over, even in the midst and throng of all his best pieces the mating of the King is the conclusion of the Game; which **shows** 

fhews us that on the prefervation or overthrow of our King the overthrow or preservation of our State dependeth. The recompence of the Pawns is not be forgotten. they can win and ascend the furthest part of the Chesse-bord on the Sunney side, as the first which mount a breach, in this case they are surrogated in those void Rooms of the pieces of honour, which because they suffered themselves to be taken, were removed off the Boord, which in effect is to represent the punishment and guerdon due in a Common-wealth to good or evil actions. The Game ended, Kings, Queens, Bishops, Knights, Pawns, pessemelled are confuledly thrown in the box, the conclusion of all earthly actions and greatness. If Hieronymus Vida can be found with Baptista Marini his Adone, we shall not spare some houres of the night and day at their Chesse, for I affect that above the other; and here have we plaied without a Chess boord on paper for a preamble to our meeting.

W. Drummond.

## To his worthy Friend Master Benjamin Johnson.

SIR,

He uncertainty of your abode was a cause of mysilence this time past, I have adventured this packet upon hopes that a man so famous cannot be in any place either of the City or Court where he shall not be found out. In my last I fent you a description of Lough Lomond with a map of Inch-merinoch, which may by your Book be made most famous with the form of the Government of Edenburgh, and the Method of the Colleges of Scotland; for all inscriptions I have been curious to find out for you, the Impressand Emblemes on a Bed of State wrought and embroidered all with gold and filk by the late Queen Mary mother to our facred Soveraign, which will embbellish greatly some pages of your Book, and is worthy your remembrancesthe first is the Loadstone turning towards the pole, the word her Majesties name turned in an Anagram, Maria Stuart, sa vertu m' attire, which is not much inferiour to Feritas armata. hath reference to a Crucifix, before which with all her Royall Ornaments the is humbled on her knees most lively, with the word undique; an Impressa of Mary of Lorrain her Mother, a Phanix in flames, the word en ma fin git mon com-

mencement

mencement. The Impressa of an Apple Tree growing in a Thorn the word Per vincula crescit. The Impressaof Henry the second the French King, a Cressant, the word, Donec totum impleat orbem. The Impress of King Francis the first. a Salamander crowned in the midft of Flames, the word Nutrifco et extingo. The Impressa of Godfrey of Bullogne, an row paffing throw three Birds, the word, Dederit ne viam Casulve Densve. That of Mercurius charming Argos with his hundred eyes, expressed by his Caduceus, two Flutes, and a Peacock, the word, Eloquium tot lumina clausit. Two Women upon the Wheels of Fortune, the one holding a Lance. the other a Cornucopia; which Impressa seemeth to glaunce at Queen Elizabeth and her felf, the word Fortuna Comites. The Impressa of the Cardinal of Lorrain her Uncle, a Pyramide overgrown with Ivy, the vulgar word, Te Stante virebo; a Ship with her Mast broken and fallen in the Sea, the word Nunquam nifi restum. This is for her felf and her Son, a Big Lyon and a young Whelp befide her, the word, unum quidem, sed Leonem. An embleme of a Lyon taken in a Net, and Hares wantonly passing over him, the word, Et lepores de willo insultant Leone. Gammomel in a garden, the word, Frudus calcata dat amplos. A Palm Tree, the word, Ponde. ribus virtus innata resistit. A Bird in a Cage, and a Hamk fly. ingabove, with the word il mal me preme et me spaventa Peggio. A Triangle with a Sun in the middle of a Circle, the word Trino non convenit orbis. A Porcupine amongst Sea Rocks, the word, ne volutetur. The Impresa of King Henry the eight a Portculles, the word altera fecuritas. The Impressa of the Duke of Savey, the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the word Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit. He had kept the Ill: of Rhodes, Flourishes of Arms, as Helms, Launces, Conflets, Pikes, Mnskets, Canons and the word, Dab't Dem his quoque finem. A Tree planted iu a Church-yard environed with dead mens bones, the word, Pietas revocabit ab orco. Eccliples of the Sun and the Moon, the word, Ip-(a fibi lumen quod invidet aufert; glauncing, as may appear at Queen Elizabeth. Brennos Ballances a fwordcaft in to weigh Gold, the word, Quid nife Victis dolor? A Vine tree watred with Wine, which instead to make it spring and grow, maketh it fade, the word, Mea sic mihi prosunt. A wheel rolled from a Mountain in the Sea, Piena di dolor voda de Speren-Which appeareth to be her own, and it should be Precipitio fenza speranza. A heap of Wings and Feathers difpersed, the word, Magnatum Vicinitas. A Trophie upon a Tree, with Mytres, Crowns, Hats, Masks, Swords, Books, and a Woman with a Vail about her eyes or muffled, pointing to some about her, with this word, Ut casus dederit. T hree

Three Crowns, two opposite, and another above in the Sea, the word, Aliamque moratur. The Sun in an Eccliple,

the word, Medio occidet Die.

I omit the Arms of Scotland, England, and France feverally by themselves, and all quartered in many places of this The workmanship is curiously done, and above all value, and truely it may be of this Piece faid Materiam [uperabat opus.

I have fent you (as you defired) the Oath which the old valiant Knights of Scotland gave, when they received the Order of Knighthood, which was done with greater fo-

lemnity and magnificence.

W. Drummond.

July 1. 1619.

#### To his Worthy Friend M. A. G.

Never found any greater folly in the actions of Men than to fee some busie themselves to understand the accidents to come of their lives; This knowledge of things to come not revealed to us, is no ways needful for us. Wherefoever this superstition is once received, Men are driven, and, as it were haunted with Furies, and are deprived of all calmness, quietness and rest. I never knew any who had recourse to those unlawful curiosities who liv'd the ordinary age of man. God omnipotent removing his Grace from them giveth them over to fall under the Fate of their own fears. By the credulity and violent defire of him who inquireth to know these things, Aftrological Predictions come to pass, not by the nature of the things themselves, which are fortuital events, and have no natural causes, being voluntary. The mistakings and uncertainties of these Predictions, should make us contemn them. Astrologi fingunt non docent. The truth of Astrological Predictions is not to be refer'd to the constellations of heaven. the Genetbliaticks have other observations than the Stars; they conjecture by the disposition, temper, complection of the perfon, by the physiognomy, age, parents, education, acquaintance, familiarity, convertation, out of all which they collect many apparences, possibilities, likelyhoods: and their prophecies are refer'd ad Sortem, ad Pacta, ad Prudentiam consultorum, & ftultitiam Consulentium; the lagacity of the Astrologer, the blokishnes of the Consulter. Of Contingencies, no certain knowledge can be obtained by Art.

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But

But all those events which Astrologers aver to come are fortuital and casual contingents, then they cannot be learned or known by any precepts of Art. How can a Caldean by that . short minute, instant, moment of time in which a man is born. fet down the diverfe changes, mutations, accidents of his life? if we were to confider of those things, it would appear we should not be solicitous so much, and take notice how the air is affected at the infants coming in this world, as we should observe and respect the matter and disposition of the whole body, in which a greater virtue is infused, or of the time of the conception. Then how unlikely is it, and without any femblance of truth, that the many almost numberles conjunction of Stars, which occur and present themselvs in the progress of a Mans life, should match and countervail that one Horoscope or Conjunction which is found at his birth? More. over to find out and know the actions of the free will of a man of what importance should we hold nourishment, education. age, the place, his conversation, every one of which after their own manner contributing to the constitution and complexion of the person, how great effects must all these together produce? If that moment of the time of birth be of fuch moment, whence proceederh the great differences of the constitutions of Twins, which though together born, have strange, divers and contrary Fortunes in the progress of their lives? all that knowledge (if there be any fuch?) of things contingent to which we attain by the aspects of Stars, is uncertain frivolous and changeable. This the Devils themfelves confessed, when upon consultations of things to come for the most part they gave doubtful and ambiguous anfwers. The Stars are not malignant, mischeivous, spitefull, nor by their aspects malicious, if they were such, that should be either by election or nature. They are not by Election, for then they should have senses and souls, and as Animals be troubled with perturbations, and toffed like unto us, which followerh election. They are not malitious by nature, fith God created them, and God is not a Creator of what is evil: nor is the framer of whats not good; the Heavens are all good and in every degree and figure the divine bounty shineth. Why do not Astrologers at their pleasure procreate Kings, for they have no great labour but to choose out opportunam boram, and ask counsel of the fatal Stars? Had Giges, who of a fervant became a King, a kingly afpect, or Servius Tullus or that Tartar Tamerlane royal Images and figures? Vain should all Laws be, all sentences and doom of Judges, vain the Rewards of virtue and good men; vain the punishments of vices and evils, if the great beginnings and Originals of them were compelled, driven and forced, and if what is just

or wrong were not in a man himself. The Thief should not be a Thief, the Murtherer a Murtherer, wicked and unjust they should not be, the one being necessitated to steel, the other to shed bloud by the Stars. Trust in the first cause God Almighty, and scorn vain Predictions. That infinit eternal essence, though the Stars should incline, yea necessitate, and be averse, can countermand and turn them propitious: All things turn unto the best unto such as rely on his Eternal goodness:

W. Drummond.

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# Cay PRESSE



Hough it bath bin doubted if there be in the foal such imperious and super-excellent power, as that it can by the vehement and earnest working of it, deliver knowledge to another without bedily Organs and by the onely conceptions and Ideas of it produce real Effects; yet it bath bin ever and of all held as infallible and most certain, that

it often (either by outward inspiration, or some secret motion in it self) is augure of its own misfortunes, and hath shadows of approaching dangers presented unto it before they fall torth. Hence so many strange apparitions and signs, true visions, uncouth heaviness, and causeless uncomfortable languishings, of which to seek a reason, unless from the sparkling of God in the Soul, or from the Godlike sparkles of the Soul, were to make unreasonable by reasoning of things transcending her reach.

Having

Having often and diverse times, when I had given my tell to rest in the quiet solitariness of the Night, found my imagination troubled with a confused sear, no, sorrow or horror, which interrupting sleep did assonish my senses, and rowse me all appalled, and transported in a suddain agony and amazedness; of such an unaccustomed perturbation, not knowing, nor being able to dive into any apparent cause, carried away with the stream of my then doubting thoughts, I began to ascribe it to that secret fore-knowledge and presaging power of the prophetick mind, and to interpret such an Agony to be to the Spirit as a faintness and universal weariness useth to be to the body, a sign of following sickness, or as winter Lightnings or Earth quakes are to Common wealths and great Cities, Harbingers of more wretched events.

Hereupon not thinking it strange if whatsoever is human should be all me, knowing how providence overcoms grief, and discountenances Crosses; and that as we should not despair of evils which may happen to us, we should not be too consident, nor lean much to those Goods we enjoy; I began to turn over in my remembrance all that could afflict miserable Mortality, and to fore cast every thing that with a Mask of horror could show it self to humane eyes: till in the end, as by unities and points, Mathematicians are brought to great numbers, and huge greatness; after many fantastical glances of the woes of mankind, and those incumbrances which follow upon life, I was brought to think, and with amazement, on the last of humane terrors, or (as one termed it) the last of all dreadful and terrible Evils, Death.

For to easie consure it would appear, that the Soul, if it fore see that divorcement which it is to have from the body, should not without great reason be thus over-grieved, and plunged in inconsolable and unaccustom'd forrow: considering their near union, long familiarity and love, with the great change, pain, ugliness, which are apprehended to be

the inseparable attendents of Death,

They had their being together, parts they are of one rear sonable Creature, the harming of the one, is the weakning of the working of the other; what sweet contentments doth the soul enjoy by the senses? They are the Gates and Windows of its knowledge, the Organs of its Delight. If it be tedious to an excellent player on the Lute, to abide but a sew Moneths the want of one, how much more the being without such noble Tools and Engines be plaintful to the Soul? And it two Pilgrims which have wandred some sew miles together, have a hearts grief when they are neer to part, what must the sorrow be at the parting of two so loving Friends

Friends and never-loathing Lovers, as are the Body and Soul?

Death is the violent estranger of acquaintance, the eternal Divorcer of Mariage, the Ravisher of the children from the Parents, the Stealer of Parents from their children, the interrer of Fame, the fole cause of forgetfulnesse, by which the living talk of those gone away as of so many Shadowes or age-worn Stories: all strength by it is enfeebled, Beauty tuined into deformity and rottenness, honour in contempt, Glory into balenesse. It is the reasonless breaker off of all Actions, by which we enjoy no more the sweet pleasures of Earth, nor gaze upon the stately revolutions of the Heavens, Sunne perperually setteth, Stars never rise unto us, It in one moment robbeth us of what with fo great toyl and care in many years we have heaped together: By this are Successions of Linages cut short, kingdomes left heirless. and greatest States orphaned: it is not overcome by Pride, smothered by Flattery, diverted by time, Wisedome save this can prevent and help every thing. By death we are exiled from this fair City of the World, it is no more a World unto us, nor we no more a people unto it. ruines of Phanes, Palaces, and other magnificent Frames, yield a lad prospect to the soul, and how should it without horrour view the wrack of fuch a wounderful Master-piece as is the body?

That death naturally is terrible and to be abhorred, it can not well and altogether be denyed, it being a privation of life, and a not-being, and every privation being abhorred of nature, and evil in it felf, the fear of it too being ingenerate universally in all Creatures; yet I have often thought that even naturally to a mind by onely nature resolved and prepared, it is more terrible in conceit than in verity, and at the first Glance, than when well pryed into, and that rather by the weakness of our fantasie, than by what is in it, and that the marble colours, of Obsequies, Weeping, and suneral pomp (which we our selves castover) did add much more ghast inesse unto it than otherwaies it hath. To aver which conclusion, when I had gatherd my wandring thoughts

I began thus with my felf.

If on the great Theatre of this Earth amongst the numberless number of men, To dy were onely proper to thee and thine, then und oubtedly thou hadst reason to repine at so severe and partial a Law? but since it is a necessity, from the which never an age by-past hath been exempted, and unto which they which be, and so many as are to come, are thralled (no consequent of life being more common and familiar) why shouldst thou with unprofitable and nought availing

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stubbornness, oppose to so unevitable and necessary a Condition? this is the high-way of Mortality, our general home. behold what millions have trode it before thee, what mul. titudes shall after thee, with them which at that same instant In so universal a calamity (if Death be one) private complaints cannot be heard, with fo many Royal Palaces, it is no loss to see thy poor Caban burn. Shall the heavens stay their ever-roling wheels (for what is the motion of them but the motion of a swift and ever whirling wheel, which twineth forth, and again uprolleth our life?) and hold still time, to prolong thy miserable daies, as if the highest of their working were to do homage unto thee? thy death is a peice of the Order of this All, a part of the Life of this world, for while the World is the World, some Creatures must dy, and others take life. Eternal things are raised far above this Sphere of Generation and Corruption, where the first Matter, like an ever flowing and ebbing Sea, with divers waves, but the same water, keepeth a restless and never tyring current; what is below, in the universality of the kind, not in it self doth abide, Man a long line of years hath continued, This Man every hundred is swept away. This Globe environed with air, is the sole Region of death, the Grave where every thing that taketh life must rott, the Stage of Fortune and Change, onely glorious in the unconstancy and varying alterations of it, which though many feem yet to abide one, and being a certain entire one, are ever many. The neveragreeing bodies of the Elemental Brethren turn one in another, the Earth changeth her countenance with the seasons, sometimes looking cold, and naked, other times hot and flowry: Nay, I cannot tell how, but even the lowest of those Celestial bodies, that mother of moneths, and Empress of Seas and moisture, as if she were a Mirrour of our constant mutability appeareth (by her too great neernels unto us ) to participate of our changes, never seeing us twice with that same face, now looking black, then pale and wan, sometimes again in the perfection and fulnesse of her beauty shining over us. Death no leffe than life doth here act a part, the taking away of what is old, being the making away for what is young. They which forewent us did leave a Room for us, and should we grieve to do the same to those which should come after us? who being suffered to see the exquisite rarities of an Antiquaries Cabinet is grieved that the curtain he drawn and to give placeto new pilgrims? and when the Lord of this Universe hath shewed us the amazing wonders of his various frame. should we take it to heart, when he thinketh time, to dislodge? this is his unalterable and unevitable Decree, as we

we had no part of our will in our entrance into this lite, we should not presume of any in our leaving it, but soberly learn to will that which he wills, whose very will giveth being to all that it wills, and reverencing the Orderer, not repine at the Order and Laws, which al-where and all-waies are so perfectly established, that who would essay to correct and amend any of them, should either make them worse, or desire things beyond the level of possibility.

If thou doest complain that there shall be a time in the which thou shalt not be, why dost thou not too grieve that there was a time in the which thou waste not? and so that thou art not as old as that enlifening Planet of time? for not to have been a thousand years before this moment, is as much to be deplored as not to live a thousand after it, the effect of them both being one: that will be after us which long long before we were, was. Ous Childrens children have that same reason to murmur that they were not young men in our daies, which we have to complain that we shall not be old in theirs. The Violets have their time, though they impurple not the Winter, and the Roses keep their season though they disclose not their beauty in the Springs

Empires, States, Kingdomes, have by the doom of the Supreme Providence their fatal Periods, great Cities ly sad. ly buried in their dust, Arts and Sciences have not only their Ecclipses, but their wainings and deaths, the ghastly wonders of the world, raised by the ambition of ages are overthrown and trampled, some Lights above, not idly intitled Stars, are loosed and never more seen of us: The excellent Fabrick of this Universe it self shall one day suffer ruin, or a change like a ruin, and poor Earthlings thus to be handled

complain.

But is this Life so great a good, that the loss of it should be so dear unto Man? if it be? the meanest Creatures of Nature thus be happy, for they live no lesse than he: If it be so great a telicity, how is it esteemed of Man himself at so small a rate, that for so poor gains, nay, one disgraceful word, he will not stand to loose it? what excellency is there in it, for the which he should desire it perpetual, and repine to be at rest, and return to his old Grand-mother Dust? of what moment are the labours and actions of it, that the interruption and leaving off of them should be to him distassful, and with such grudging lamentations receive?

Is not the entering into Life weaknesse? the continuing sorrow? in the one here is exposed to all the injuries of the Elements, and like a condemned trespasser (as if it were a

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bound; in the other he is restlessly like a Ball tossed in the Tenis Court of this World, when he is in the brightest Meridian of his glory, there mistereth nothing to destroy him, but to let him fall his own height, a restex of the Sun, a blast of wind, nay, the glance of an eye, is sufficient to undo him: How can that be any great matter, which so small instruments

and flender actions are Masters ot?

His body is but a mass of discording humors boiled together by the conspiring influences of Superior lights, which though agreeing for a trace of time, yet can never be made uniform, and kept in a just proportion. To what sickness is it subject unto, beyond those of the other creatures; no part of it being which is not particularly infected and afflicted by some one, nay, every part with many; so that the life of divers of the meanest creatures of nature hath with great reason, by the most wise, been preferred to the natural life of man: And we should rather wonder how so fragil a matter

should so long endure, than how so soon decay.

Are the actions of the most part of men, much differing from the exercise of the Spider; that pitcheth toyls and is tapist, to pray on the smaller Creatures, and for the weaving of a scornful web eviscreateth it self many daies. which when with much industry finished, a tempestuous puffe of wind carrieth away both the work and the worker? or are they not like the plaies of Children? or ( to hold them at their highest rate ) as is a May-Game, or what is more earnest, some study at Chesse, every day we rise and lie down, apparel and disapparrel our selves, weary our bodies and refresh them, which is a circle of idle Travels, and labours (like Penelopes task) unprofitably renewed. Some time we are in a chale after a fading Beauty, now we feek to enlarge our bounds, increase our treasure, seeding poorly, to purchase what we mnst leave to those we never saw, or (happily) to a Fool, or a Prodigal heire: railed with the wind of Ambition, we Court that idle name of Honour, not confidering how they mounted aloft in the highest ascendant of Earthly Glory, are but like tortured Ghosts wandring with golden fetters in glistering Prisons having fear and danger their unseperable executioners, in the midst of multitudes rather garded than regarded; they whom opake imaginations and inward melancholy, have made weary of the world, though they have withdrawn themselves from the course of vulgar affairs, by vain contemplations, curious searches, are more disquieted, and live a life worse than others, their wit being too sharp to give them a taste of their present infelicity,

and

and to increase their woes; while they of a more shallow and simple conceit, have want of knowledge and ignorance of themselves, for a remedy and antidote against all the calamities of life.

What Camelion, what Euripe, what Moon doth change fo often as man? he feemeth not the fame perfon, in one and the same day, what pleaseth him in the morning is in the evening unto him distaltful. Young he scorns his childish conceits, and wading deeper in years; for years are a Sea, into which he wadeth until he drown ) he estee. meth his Youth Unconstancy, Rashnesse, Folly; Old he begins to pitty himselfe, plaining, because he is changed that the world is changed, like those in a Ship, which when they launch from the shore, are brought to think the shore doth flye from them. When he is freed of evil in his own estate, he grudges and vexes himself at the happiness and fortunes of others, he is pressed with care for what is present, with sorrow for what is past, with fear for what is to come, nay, for what will never come, as in the eye one tear forceth out another, so makes he one forrow follow upon a former, and every day lay up stuff of grief for the next.

The Air, the Sea, the Fire, the Beasts, be cruel executioners of man, yet Beasts, Fire, Sea and Aire, are pittyful to man in comparison of man, for more men are destroyed by men, than by them all. What scornes, wrongs, contumelys, imprisonments, torments, poysons, receiveth man of man? What engynes and new workes of death are dayly found forth by man against man? What Laws to thrall his liberty? fantasses and scarbugs, to inveigle his reason? Amongst the Beastes is there any that hath so service a lot in anothers behalf as Man? yet neither is content, nor he who raignesh nor he who serveth.

The halt of our life is spent in Sleepe, which hath such a resemblance to death, that often it seperats as it were the Soule from the body, and teacheth it a sort of being above it, making it soare beyond the Speare of sensual delights, and attaine Knowledge unto which while the body did awake it could scarce aspire. And who would not, rather than abide chained in his loathsom galey of the world sleep ever, (that is dye) having all thinges at one Stay be free from those vexations, misadventers, contempts, indignitys, and many many anguishes, unto which, this life is invasseled and subdued? and when looking unto our greatest contentment and happiness heere, seemeth rather to consist in the being released from misery, than in the enjoying of any great good.

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What have the most eminent of mortals to glory in ? Is it Greatness? Who can be great on so small a round as is this Earth, and bounded with fo short a course of time? How like is that to Castles or imaginary Cities raised in the Sky by Chance meeting Clouds? Or to Gyants modelled (for a sport) of Snow, which at the hoter looks of the Sun melt away, and ly drowned in their own moisture? fuch an impetuous viciflitude towfeth the estates of this World. Is it knowledge? But we have not yet attained to a perfect understanding of the smallest Flower, and why the Grasse should rather be green than read. The Element of Fire is quite put out, the Air is but water rarified, the Earth moveth, and is no more the Center of the Universe, is turned into a Magnes; Stars are not fixed, but swim in the Etherial spaces, Comets are mounted above the Planets, some affirm there is another world of men and creatures, with Cities and Towers in the Moon, the Sun is loft, for it is but a cleft in the lower heavens, through which the light. of the highest shines. Thus Sciences by the diverse motions of this Globe of the brain of man are become opinions. What is all we know, compared with what we know not? We have not yet agreed about the chief good and felicitye. It is (perhaps ) Artificial Cunning, how many curiofities be framed by the least Creatures of Nature. unto which the industry of the most curious Artizanes doth not attain? Is it Riches? what are they but the casting out of Friends, the Spares of liberty, bands to such as have them, possessing rather, than possest, metals which nature hath hid (fore-feeing the great harm they should occasion ) and the onely opinion of man hath brought in estimation? like Thornes which laid on an open hand, may be blown away, and on a closing and hard gripping, wound it, Prodigals milpend them, wretches mikeep them: when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves! can enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man: what great and rich mendo by others, the meaner fort do themselves. Will some talk of our pleasures? it is not (though in the fables) told out of purpose, that pleafure in hast being called up to Heaven, did here forget her apparel, which Sorrow thereafter finding (to deceive the world ) attired her felf with: And if we would fay the truth of most of our Joies, we must confess that they are but disguised sorrows; the drams of their Honey are sowred in pounds of Gall, remorfe ever enfeweth them, nay in some they have no effect at all if some wakening grief hath not preceded and forewent them. Will some Ladies vaunt of their beauty? that is but skin-deep, of two senthing made to delight others, more than those which have it, a superficial suffer hiding bones and the brains, things fearful to be looked upon, growth in years doth blaste it, or sickness, or sorrow preventing them. Our strength matched with that of the urneasonable Creatures, is but weakness: all we can set our eyes on, in these intricate mazes of life, is but vain perspective and deceiving shadows, appearing far otherwise afar off, than when injoied and gazed upon in a neer distance.

If death be good, why should it be feared? And if it be the work of nature, how should it not be good? for nature is an Ordinance and Rule, which God hath established in the creating this Universe (as is the Law of a King) which cannot err. Sith in him there is no impotency and weaknetie, by the which he might bring forth what is unperfect, no perveriences of will, of which might proceed any vicious action, no ignorance by the which he might go wrong in working, being most powerful, most good, most wife, nay, all-wife, all good, all powerful; He is the first Orderer, and marshalleth every other Order, the highest Est nce, giving essence to all other things, of all causes the cause, he worketh powerfully, bounteously, wisely, and maketh (his Artificial Organ) nature do the same. is not Death of Nature? fith what is naturally generate, is Subject to corruption, and such an harmony (which is life) riling from the mixture of the four Elements, which are the Ingredients of our bodie, can not ever endure; the contrariety of their qualities (as a confuming Rust in the baler Mettals) being an inward cause of a necessary distolu-Again, how is not Death good? fith it is the thaw of all those vanities which the frost of Life bindeth together. If there be a faciety in life, then must there be a sweetnesse in Death? The Earth were not ample enough to contain her off-spring if none dyed: in two or three Ages (without death) what an unpleasant and lamentable Spectacle, were the most flourishing Cities? for what should there be to be feen in them, fave bodies languishing and courbing again into the Earth? pale disfigured faces, Skelitons instead of men? and what to be heard, but the exclamations of the young, complaints of the old, with the pittiful cries of fick and pining persons? there is almost no infirmity worse than

If there be any evil in death; it would appear to be that pain and torment, which we apprehend to arise from

the breaking of those strait bands which keep the Soul and body together; which, fith not without great struggling and motion, seemes to prove it self vehement and most The senses are the only cause of pain, but before the last Trances of Death, they are so brought under that they have no (or very little) strength, and their strength lessening, the strength of pain too must be lessened. How should we doubt, but the weakness of sense lesseneth pain, fith we know that weakened and maimed parts which re ceive not nourishment, are a great deal less sensible, than the other parts of the body; And fee that old decrepit perfons leave this world almost without pain, as in a sleep? If bodies of the most found and wholesome constitution be these which most vehemently feel pain? it must then follow, that they of a distemperate and craise constitution, have least feeling of pain, and by this reason all weak and fick bodies should not much feel pain, for if they were not distempered and evil complexioned, they would not be sick. That the sight, Hearing, Taste, Smelling leave us without pain, and unawares, we are undoubtedly affured, and why should we not think the same of the Feeling? That which is capable of feeling, are the vital Spirits, which in a man in a perfit health are spread and extended through the whole body, and hence is it that the whole Body is capuble of pain; but in dying bodies we see that by pauses and degrees the parts which are furthest removed from the heart, become cold, and being deprived of natural heat, all the pain which they feel, is that they do feel no pain. Now, even as before the fick are aware, the vital spirits have withdrawn themselves from the whole extension of the bo. dy, to succour the heart (like distressed Citizens which finding their walls battered down, fly to the defence of their (ittadel) to do they abandon the heart without any sensible touch: As the flame, the oyl failing, leaveth the wick, or as light the Air, which it doth invest. As to the shrinking motions, and convulsions of sinews and members, which appear to witness great pain, let one represent to himself the strings of an high tuned Lute, which breaking, retire to their natural windings, or a piece of Ice, that without any outward violence cracketh at a Thaw: No otherwise do the finews of the body; sinding themselves flack and unbended from the brain, and their wonted labours and motions cease, struggle, and seem to stir themselves, but without either pain or sense. Swoning is a true Pourtrait of Death, or rather it is the same, being a cessation from all action, and function of sense and life: but in Swoning there is no pain, but a filent rest, and so deep

of it; what great pain then can there be in death, which is but a continued Swowning, and a never again returning

to the works and dolorous felicity of life?

Now although Death were an extream pain, fith it is in an instant, what can it be? why should we fear it? for while we are, it commeth not, and it being come we are no more. Nay, though it were most painful, long continuing, and terrible, ugly why should we sear it? Sith fear is a toolish passion but where it may preserve; but it cannot preserve us from Death, year ather the sear of it, banishing the comforts of present contentments, makes death to advance and approach the more near unto us. That is ever terrible which is unknown, so do little children sear to go in the

dask, and their tear is increased with tales.

But that perhaps which anguisheth thee most, is to have this glorious pageant of the World, removed from thee, in the Spring and most delicious season of thy lite, for though to dy be usual, to dy young may appear extraordi. nary. If the present fruition of these things be unprofitable and vain, what can a long continuance of them bee & Stranger and new Halcyon, why would thou longer neftle amidst these unconstant and stormy Waves? Hast thou not already suffered enough of this world, but thou must yet endure more? To live long, is it not to be long troubled? But number thy years which are now and thou shalt find, that whereas ten have overlived thee, thousands have not attained this age. One year is sufficient to behold all the magnificence of Nature, nay, even one day and night for more is but the same brought again. This Sun, that Moon, these Stars, the varying dance of the Spring, Summer, Autumn, winter, is that very fame which the golden age did see. They which have the longest time lent them to live in, have almost no part of it at all, measuring it either by the space of time which is past, when they were not, or that which is to come: why shouldst thou then care, whether thy daies be many or few, which when prolonged to the uttermost, prove, paralel'd with eternity, as a Tear is to the Ocean? To dy young, is to do that foon, and in some fewer dales, which once thou must do; it is the ving over of a Game that after never fo many hazards, must be loft. VVhen thou haft lived to that age thou defireff. one of Plato's years, to foon as the last of thy daies rifeth bove thy Horizon, thou wilt then as now, demand lonper respit, and exspect more to come. It is Hope of long life, that maketh life feem short. VVho will behold, and with theeyeof advice behold the many changes attending

on humane affairs, with the after-claps of Fortune, shall never lament to dy young. Who knows what alterations and sudden disasters, in outward estate or inward contentments in this wilderness of the world, might have befallen him who dyeth young, if he had lived to be old? Heaven fore-knowing imminent harms, taketh those which it loves to it felf beforethey fall forth. Pure and (if we may fofay) Virgin Souls, carry their bodies with no smal agonys, and delight not to remain long in the dregs of humane corruption, still burning with a defire to turn back to the place of their reft, for this world is their Inn, and not their Home. That which may fall forth every hour, cannot fal out of time. Life is a Journey in a duffy way, the furthest Rest is Death, in this some go more heavily burdened than others: fwift and active Pilgrims come to the end of it in the morning or at Noon, which Tortoile paced Wretches, clogged with the fragmentary rubbidge of this world, scarce with great travel crawl unto at Midnight. Daissare not to be esteemed after the number of them, but after the goodnes: more compasse maketh not a Sphear more compleat. But as round is a little as a large Ring; nor is that Musician most praise-worthy who hath longest played, but he in measured accents who hath made sweetest melody, to live long bath often been a let to live well. Muse not how many years thou mightest have enjoyed life, but how sooner thou mightst have lossed it, neither grudge so much that it is no better, as comfort thy felf that it hath been no worse : let it suffice that thou hast lived till this day, and (after the course of this world) not for nought, thou hast had some smiles of fortune, favors of the worthiest, some friends and thou hast never been disfavoured of the Heaven.

Though not for Life it self, yet that to after worlds thou mightst leave some monument that once thou wast, happilie in the clear light of Reason, it would appear that life were earnestly to be desired: for fith it is denyed us to live ever ( said one ) let us leave some worthy Remembrance of our once here being, and draw out this Spanne of life to the greatest length, and so far as is possible. poor ambition? to what I pray thee maiest thou concreded Arches and stately Temples, which one age doth raise, doth not another raze, Tombs and adopted Pillars ly buried with those which were in them buried : Hath not Avarice defaced, what Religion [did make glorious? all that the hand of man can uprear, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed as if there were a secret opposition in fate, the unevitable decree of the Eternal, to controul our industry, and con-

ter-check all our devices and proposing. Possessions are not enduring, Children loose their names, Families glorying (like Marigolds in the Sunne ) on the highest top of Wealth and Honour (no better than they which are not vet born ) leaving off to be; so doth Heaven confound what we endeavour by labour and art to destinguish. That renown by Papers, which is thought to make men immortal, and which nearest doth approach the life of these eternal bodies above, how flender it is, the very word of paper doth import, and what is it when obtained, but a multitude of words, which comming Times may fcorn. How many millions never hear the names of the most famous Writers, and amongst them to whom they are known, how few turn over their pages, and of fuch as do, how many sport at their conceits, taking the verity for a fable, and oft a fable for verity, or (as we do pleafants) use all for recreation? Then the arifing of more famous, doth darken, and turn ignoble the glory of the former, being held as garments worn out of fashion. Now, when thou hast attained what praise thou couldst defire, and thy fame is emblazon'd in many Stories, it is but an Eccho, a meer Sound, a Glowworm, which feen afar, casteth some cold beams, but approached is found nothing, an imaginary happinels, whole good depends on the opinion of others: Defert and Virtue for the most part want Monuments and memory, seldome are recorded in the Volumes of admiration, while Statues and Trophies, are erected to those, whose names should have been buried in their dust, and folded up in the darkest clouds of oblivion: So do the rank Weeds in this Garden of the World choak and over-run the sweetest Flowers Applause whilst thou livest, serveth but to make thee that fair mark against which Envy and Malice direct their Arrows, at best is like that Syracusians Sphear of Chrystal, as frail as fair: and born after thy death, it may as well be ascribed. to some of those were in the Trojan Horse, or to such as are vertobe born an hundred years hereafter, as to thee, who nothing knowes, and is of all unknown. What can it avail thee to be talked of, whilst thou art not? Consider in what bounds our fame is confined, how narrow the lists are of humane Glory, and the furthest she can stretch her wings. This Globe of the Earth which seemeth huge to us, in respect of the Universe, and compared with that wide wide pavilion of Heaven, is less than little, of no sensible quantity, and but as a point: for the Horizon which boundeth our fight, divideth the heaven as in two halfs, having alwaies fix of the Zodiack figns above, and as many under it, which it the Earth had any quntity compared to it,

More, it the Earth were not as a point, it could not do. the Stars could not still in all parts of it appear to us of a like greatneste; for where the Earth raised it felf in Moun tains, we being morenear to Heaven, they would appear to us of a greater quantity; and where it is humbled in Vallies, we being further distant they would feem unto us Liffe; But the starres in all parts of the Earth appearing of a like greatnesse, and to every part of it the Heaven imparting to our fight the half of its infide, we must avouch it to be but as a point. Well did one compare it to an Ant-hill, and men (the Inhabitants) to fo many Pifmires and Grashoppers, in the toil and variety of their diversifyed studies. Now of this small indivisible thing, thus compared, how much is covered with Waters? how much not at all discovered? how much unhabited and defart? and how many millions of millions are they, which there the remnant amongst them, in languages, customes, divine rites differing, and all almost to others unknown ? But let it be granted that glory and Fame are some great matter, and can reach Heaven it felf, fith they are oft buried with the honoured, and passe away in so fleet a revo lution of time, what great good can they have in them? How is not glory Temporal, if it increase with years and depend on time? Then imagine me (for what cannot imagination reach unto?) one could be famous in all times to come, and over the whole World present, yet shall he ever be obscure and ignoble to those mighty Ones, which were onely heretofore esteemed famous amongst the Assyrians, Persians, Again the vain affectation of man is fo funpressed, that though his Works abide some space, the Worker is unknown: the huge Egyptian Pyramides, and that Grot in Pausilipo, though they have wrestled with time, and worn upon the wast of Daies, yet are their Authors no more known, than it is known by what strange Earth-quakes, and deluges, Isles were divided from the Continent; or Hills burfted forth of the Valleys Dayes, Moneths, and Years are swallowed up in the great sulf of time (which puts out the eyes of all their glory) and onely a fatal oblivion remains; of so many ages past, we may well figure to our selves likely apparences, but can affirm little

and aftenished at the remembrance of Death, sith it doth not reach thee, more than darknesse doth those far-shining Lamps above? Rowsethy self for shame; why shoulds thou fear to be without a body, sith thy maker and the spiritual and super-celestial Inhabitants have no bodies?

Halt thou ever seen any Prisoner, who when the Jan Gates were broken up, and he enfranchised and set loose, would rather plain and fit still on his Fetters, than feek his freedom? orany Mariner, who in the midst of Storms arriving near the Shore, would launch forth again unto the Main, rather than strike Sail and joyfully enter the leas of a safe Harbour? If thou rightly know thy felf, thou hast but small caule of anguish; for if there be any refemblance, of that which is infinite, in what is finite (which yet by an infinite imperfection is from it distant ) if thou be not an Image, thou art a shadow of that unsearchable Trinity, in thy three effential Powers, Understanding, Will, Memory; which though three, are in thee but one, and abiding one, are distinctly three: But in nothing more comelt thou near that Soveraign Good, than by thy perpetuity, which who strive to improve, by that same do it prove: Like those that by arguing themselves to be without reason, by the very arguing, shew how they have some. For, how can what is wholly mortal, more know what is immortal, than the eye can know founds, or the ear question about colours; if one had eyes, who would ever descant of light or Sorrow? To thee nothing in this visible World is comparable; thou art so wounderful a beauty and so beautiful a wonder, that if but once thou couldst be gazed upon by bodily eyes, every heart would be inflamed with thy love, and ravished from all servile basenesse and earthly desires. Thy being depends not on matter, hence by thine understanding, doest thou dive into the being of every other thing; and therein art fo pregnant, that nothing by place, similitude, subject, time, is lo conjoined, which thou canst not separate; as what neither is, nor any waies can exist, thou canst fain, and give an abstract being unto. Thou seemest a World in thy felf, containing Heaven, Starres, Seas, Earth, Floods, Mountains, Forrests, and all that liveth: yet rests thou not fatiate with what is in thy felf, nor with all in the wide Universe, untill thou raise thy self, to the contemplation of that first illuminating Intelligence, far above time, and even reaching Eternity it Telf, into which thou are transformed for by receiving thou (beyond all other things) art made that which thou receivest. The more thou know est, the more apt thou art to know, not being amated with any object that excelleth in predominance, as sense by objects fentible. Thy Will is uncompellable, refitting force, daunting Necessity, despising Dinger, triumphing over affliction, unmoved by pitty, and not constrained by all the toyls and difasters of lite. What the Arts master of this

Universe is in governing this Universe, thou art in the body; and as he is wholly in every part of it, fo art thou wholly in every part of the body. By thee man is that Hymen of elernal and mortal things, that chain together binding unbodied and bodily substances, without which the goodly Fabrick of this World were unperfect. Thou haft not thy beginning from the fecundity, power, nor action of the elemen. tal qualities, being an immediate master piece of that great Maker. Hence haft thou the forms and figures of all things imprinted in thee from thy first Original. Thou onely at once art capable of contraries, of the three parts of time, thou makest but one. Thou knowest thy self so seperate, absolute and diverse an essence from thy body, that thou dispossessed of it as it pleaseth thee, for in thee there is no paffion to weak which maftereth not the fear of leaving it. Thou shouldst be so far from repining at this separation, that it should be the chief of thy defires; fith it is the pasfage and means to attain thy perfection and happiness. Thou art here but as an infected and leprous Inn, plunged in a floud of humours, oppressed with cares, suppressed with ignorance, defiled and destained with vice, retrograde in the course of virtue; small things seem here great unto thee, and great things fmall, folly appeareth wisdome, and wisedome folly. Freed of thy flethly care, thou shalt rightly discern the beauty of thy felf, and have perfect fruition of that all-sufficient and all-sufficing Happinesse, which is GOD himself; to whom thou owest thy being, to him thou owest thy wel being, he and happinesse are the same. For, if GOD had not happinesse, he were not GOD, because Happinesse is the highest and greatest good: If then GOD have happinesse, it cannot bee a thing differing from him; for if there were any thing in Him, differing from him, he should be an essence compofed and not simple, more what is differing in any thing, is either an accident or a part of it felf: In GOD Happiness can not be an accident, because he is not subject to any accidents, if it were a part of Him ( fince the part is before the whole) we fhould be force d to grant, that fome thing was before God. Bedded and bathed in these earthly, ordures thou canst not come near this Soveraign Good, nor have any glimple of the afar-off dawning of his unceffable brightnesse, no, not so much as the eyes of the Birds of the Night have of the Sunne. Think then by death, that thy shell is broken, and thou then but even hatched, that thou art a Pearl, raised from thy Mother, to be enchaced in Gold, and that the death day of thy body, is thy birth day to Eternity.

Why

Why shouldst thou be fear-stroken, and discomforted, for thy parting from this mortal Bride thy body, fith it is but for a time, and fuch a time, as shee shall not care for, nor feel any thing in, nor thou have much need of her? Nay, fith thou shalt receive her again, more goodly and beautiful, than when in her fullest perfection thou enjoied her; being by her absence made like unto that Indian Chrystal, which after some revolutions of ages, is turned into purest Diamond. If the Soul be thee Form of the Body, and the form separated from the Matter of it. cannot ever so continue, but is inclined and disposed to be reunited thereinto: What can let and hinder this defire, but that some time it be accomplished, and obtaining the exspected end, rejoin it self again unto the Body? The Soul separate hath a defire, because it hath a will, and knowes it shall by this re-union receive perfection: too as the matter is dispoled, and inclineth to its form when it is without it, so would it seem that the Form should be towards its matter in the absence of it. How, is not the Soul the form of the body, fith by it, it is, and is the beginning and cause of all the actions and functions of it: For, though in excellency it passe every other form, yet doth not that excellency take from it thenature of a form? If the abiding of the Soul from the body be violent, then can it not be everlasting, but have a regress: How is not fuch an effate of being and abiding not violent to the Soul, if it be natural to it, to be in matter, and (separate) after a strange manner, many of the powers and faculties, of it (which never leave it) are not duly exercised? This Union feemeth not above the Horizon of natural Reason, far less impossible to be done by God, and though Reason cannot evidently here demonstrate, yet bath she a misty ind groping notice. If the body shall not arise, how can the onely and Soveraign Good, be pertectly and infinitely good? For, how shall he be just nay, have so much justice is Man, if he fuffer the evil and vicious, to have a more properous and happy life, than the followers of Religion and Virtue 3 which ordinarily useth to fall forth in this life? For, he most wicked are Lords and Gods of this Earth, sleeping n the lee port of honour, as if the spacious habitation of he World had been made onely for them; and the virtuousand good, are but forlorn cast-awaies, sloting in the lurges of diffress, seeming here either of the eye of providence not pittied, or not regarded : being subject to all difhonors, wrongs, wracks, in their best estate, passing away their dates (like the Dazies in the field ) in filence and contempt. Sith then he is most good, most just, of necessity there

must be appointed by him another time and place of retribution, in the which there shall be a reward for living well. and a punishment for doing evil, with a life whereinto both shall receive their due; and not onely in their Souls divested, for, sith both the parts of man did act a part in the right or wrong, it carrieth great reason with it, that they both be arraigned before that high Justice, to receive their own: Man is not a Soul onely, but a Soul and body, to which either guerdon or punishment is due. This seemeth to be the voice of Nature in almost all the Religions of the world; this is that general testimony, charactered in the minds of the most barbarous and savage people; for, all have had some roving gelles at ages to come, and a dim duskish light of another fife, all appealing to one general Judgement To what elfe could ferve fo many expiations, facrifices, prayers, folemnities, and mystical Ceremonies? To what such sumptuous Temples, and care of the Dead? to what all Religion? If not to shew that they expected a more excellent manner of being, after the navigation of this life did take an end. And who doth deny it, must deny that there is a Providence, a God, confess that his worship, and all study and reason of virtue are vain; and not believ that there is a world, are creatures, and that He himself is not what He is.

As those Images were pourtraided in my mind (the morning Star now almost arising in the East ) I found my thoughts mild and quiet calm; and not long after, my fenfes one by one forgetting their uses, began to give themselves over to rest, leaving me in a still and peaceable sleep; if sleep it may be called, where the mind awaking is carryed with free wings from out fleshly bondage? For heavy lids had not long covered their lights, when I thought, nay, fure I was where I might discern all in this great All, the large compass of the rolling Circles, the brightness and continual motion of those Rubies of the Night, which (by their distance) here below cannot be perceived; the filver countenance of the wandring Moon, shining by anothers light, the hanging of the Earth as (environed with a girdle of Chrystal) the Sun enthronized in the midst of the Planets, eye of the Heavens, Gem of this precious Ring the World. But whilst with wonder and amazement I gazed on those Celestial splendors, and the beaming Lamps of that glorious Temple, there was prefented to my fight a Man, as in the Spring of his years, with that felf-same grace, comely feature, Majestick look which ) was wont to have; on whom I had no looner set mine eyes, when (like one Planet-stroken) I became amazed: But hee with a milde demeanour, and voice furpaffing

furpaffing all humane sweetnesse, appeared ( me thought) to say;

What is it doth thus anguish and trouble thee? Is it the remembrance of Death, the last Period of Wretchedness, and entry to these happy places; the Lantern which lightnesh men to see the mystery of the blessednesse of Spirits, and that glory which transcenderh the Courtain of things visible? Is thy Fortune below on that dark Globe ( which scarce by the smalnesse of it appeareth here) so great, that thou art heart broken and dejected to leave it? What if thou wert to leave behind thee a ( glorious in the eye of the World (yet but a Mote of Dust encircled with a Pond) as that of mine, fo loving fuch great hopes, these had been apparent occasions of lamenting, and but apparent? Dost thou think thou leavest Life too soon? death is best young; things fair and excellent, are not of long endurance upon Earth. Who liveth well liveth long. Souls most beloved of their Maker, are soonest relieved from the bleeding cares of Life, and most swiftly wasted through the Surges of Humane Opinion that Great Enchantrelle and peifer of mileries. hings, not as they are but as they feem, hath not in any thing more, than in the conceit of Death abused man: Who must not measure himself, and esteem his estate, after his earthly being, which is but as a dream: For, though he be borne on the Earth, he is not born for the Earth, more than the Embryon for the Mothers Womb. It plaineth to be delivered of its bands, and to come to the light of this World; and Man waileth to be loosed from the Chaines with which he is fettered in that valley of vanities. It nothing knoweth whither it is to go, nor ought of the beauty of the visible works of God, neither doth man of the magnificence of the Intellectual World above, unto which (as by a Mid-wife) he is directed by Death. Fools, which think that this fair and admirable Frame, fo various. ly disposed, so rightly marshalled so strongly maintained, enriched with fo many excellencies, not only for necessity, but for ornament and delight, was by that Supreme wildom brought forth, that all things in a circulary course, should be and not be, arise and dissolve, and thus continue: as if they were fo many Shadowes cast out and caused by the encountring of these Superiour Celestial bodies, changing onely their fashion and shape, or Fantastical Imageries, or prints of faces into Chrystal. No no, the Eternal Wisdome hath made man an excellent creature, though he fain would unmake himself, and return to nothing : And though he leek his felicity among the reasonless Wights, he hath

fixed it above. Look how some Prince or great King on the Earth, when he hath raised any Stately City, the work being atchieved, is wont to fet his Image in the midft of it, to be admired and gazed upon: No otherwise did the Soveraign of this All, the Fabrick of it perfected, place man (a great Miracle) formed to his own pattern, in the midst of this spacious and admirable City. taineth all in him as the beginning of all; man containeth all in him as the midst of all; inferiour things be in man more noble than they exist; superiour things more meanly; Celestial things favour him, earthly things are vassalled un. to him, he is the band of both; neither is it possible but that both of them have peace with him, who made the Covenant between them and him? He was made that he might in the Glaffe of the world behold the infinite Good. naffe, Power and glory of his Maker, and beholding know and knowing Love, and loving enjoy, and to hold the Earth of him as of his Lord Paramount; never ceasing to remember and praise Him. It exceedeth the compasse of conceit, to think that that wisdome which made every thing so orderly in the parts, should make a confusion in the whole, and the chief Master-piece; how bringing forth To many excellencies for man, it should bring forth man for baseness and miserie. And no less strange were it, that so long life should be given to Trees, Beasts, and the Birds of the Air, Creatures inferiour to Man, which have less use of it, and which cannot judge of this goodly Fabrick, and that it should not be denyed to Man : unless there were another manner of living prepared for him, in a place more noble and excellent.

But alas! ( faid I ) had it not been better that for the good of his native Countrey a ( ) endued with so many peerlesse gifts, had yet lived? How long will yee ( replyed hee) like the Ants, think there are no fairer Palaces, than their Hills; or like to purblind Moles, no greater light, than that little which they shun? As if the Master of a Camp, knew when to remove a Sentinel, and he who placeth Man on the Earth, knew not how long he had need of him? Every one commeth there to act his part of this Tragi-Comedie, called life, which done, the Courtain is drawn, and he removing is faid to dy. That Providence which prescribeth Causes to every event hath not onely determined a definite and certain number of daies, but of actions to all men, which they cannot

go beyond.

) then answered I, Death is not such an evil and pain, as it is of the Vulgar esteemed? Death said

he) nor painful is, nor evil (except in contemplation of the cause) being of it self as indifferent as birth: yet can it not be denyed, and amidst those dreams of earthly pleafures, the uncouthnelle of it, with the wrong apprehension of what is unknown in it, are noylom. But the Soul fustained by its Maker, resolved, and calmly retired in it self, doth find that death ( fith it is in a moment of Time ) is but ashort, nay, sweet figh; and is not worthy the remembrance compared with the smallest dramm of the infinite Felicity of this Place. Here is the Palace Royal of the Almighty King, in which the uncomprehensible comprehensibly manifesteth Himself; in place highest, in substance not subject to any corruption or change, for it is above all motion, and solid turneth not; in quantity greatest, for, if one Starre, one Sphere be so vast, how large, how huge in exceeding demensions, must those bounds be, which do them all contain? In quality most pure and orient, Heaven here is all but a Sunne, or the Sunne all but a Hea-If to Earthlings the Foot-stool of God, and that Stage which he raised for a small course of Time, seemeth fo glorious and magnificent; What estimation would they make, if they could fee, of his eternal Habitation and Throne? and if thele be so wonderful, what is the fight of him, for whom and by whom all was created; of whose Glory to behold the thousand thousand part, the most pure Intelligencies are fully fatiate, and with wonder and delight rest amazed, for the beauty of his light, and the light of His beauty are uncomprehensible? Here doth that earnest appetite of the understanding content it self, not feeking to know any more; For it feeth before it, in the vision of the Divine essence (a Miroir in the which not Images or shadows, but the true and perfect effence of every thing created, is more clear and conspicuous, than in it self) all that may be known or understood. Here doth the Will pause it seit, as in the center of its Eternal rest, glowing with a fiery affection of that infinite and al-fufficient good; which being fully known, cannot for the infinite motives and causes of love which are in him ) but be fully and perfectly loved: As he is onely the true and effential Bounty, fo is he the onely effential and true beauty, deferving alone all Love and Admiration, by which the Creatures are onely in so much fair and excellent, as they particlpate of his Beauty and excelling Excellencies. Here is a bleffed Company, every one joying as much in anothers Felicity, as in that which is proper, because each seeeth another equaly loved of God; thus their distinct joyes are no fewer, than the copartners of the Joy. And as the 00

Affembly is in number answerable to the large capacity of the place, so are the joyes answerable to the numberleffe number of the Assembly. No poor and pittiful mortal, confined on the Globe of Earth, who hath never feen but forrow, or interchangeably some painted superficial pleafures, can righly think on, or be sufficient to conceive the termless delights of this place. So many Feathers move not on Birds, so many Birds dint not the Air, so many leaves tremble not on Trees, fo many Trees grow not in the folitary Forests, so many waves turn not in the Ocean. and so many grains of Sand limit not those Waves: as this triumphant Court hath variety of delights, and Joies exempted from all comparison. Happiness at once here is tully known and fully enjoyed, and as infinite in continuance as extent. Here is flourishing and never-fading youth without Age, Strength without Weaknesse, Beauty never blasting, Knowledge without Learning, Abundance with. out Loathing, Peace without Disturbance, Participation without Envy, Rest without Labour, Light without rifing or fetting Sunne, Perpetuity without moments, for Time ( which is the measure of Endurance ) did never enter in this shining Eternity. Ambition, Disdain, Malice, Difference of Opinions, cannot approach this place, and resembling those foggy Mists, which cover those Lifts of Sublunary things. All pleafure paragon'd with what is here is pain, all Mirth mourning, all Beauty deformity. Here one daies abiding, is above the continuing in the most fortunate estate on the Earth many years, and sufficient to countervail the extreamest torments of Life. although this bliss of Souls be great, and their joies many vet shal they admit Addition, and bee more ful and perfect, at that long wished and general meeting with their bodies.

Amongst all the wonders of the great Creator, not one appeareth to be more wounderful (replied I) than that our Bodies should arise, having suffered so many changes, and

nature denying a return from privation to a Habit.

Such power (said he) being above all that the Understanding of Man can conceave, may well work such wonders; For if Mans Vnderstanding could comprehend all the secrets and counsels of that Eternal Majesty, it must of necessity be equal unto it. The Author of Nature is not thralled to the Lawes of Nature, but worketh with them or contrary to them, as it pleaseth him: What he hath a will to do, he hath a power to perform. To that power which brought all this All from nought, to bring again in one instant any substance which ever was into it,

unto what it was once, should not be thought impossible; for who can do more can do less, and his power is no less after that which was by him brought forth as decared and vanished, than it was before it was produced; being neither reltrained to certain limits, or instruments, or to any determinate and definite manner of working; where the power is without restraint, the work admitteth no other simits. than the Workers will. This world is as a Cabinet to God. in which the small things (however to us hid and secret )are nothing less kept than the great. For, as he was wife and powerful to creat, fo doth his knowledge comprehend his own Creation; yea every change and varity in it, of which it is the very Source. Not any Atom of the scatter'd Dust of mankind, though daily flowing under new forms, is to him unknown: and hisknowledge doth distinguish and discern. what once his power shall waken and raise up. Why may not the Arts-Master of the world, like a Molder, what he hath framed in divers shapes, confound in one mass, and then feverally fashion them out of the same? Can the Spargirick by his Art restore for a space to the dry and withered Rose. the natural purple and blush 3 and cannot the Almighty raise and refine the body of man, after never fo many alterations on the Earth? Reason her self finds it more possible for infinit power to cast out from it self a finit world, and restore any thing in it; though decaied and dissolved, to what it was first; than for man, a finit piece of reasonable misery, to change the form of matter made to his hand; the power of God never brought forth all that it can, for then were it bounded, and no more infinit. That time doth approach (O hast yetimes away) in which the dead shall live, and the living be changed, and of all actions the Guerdon is at hand; then shall there be an end without an end, time shall finish, and place shall be altered, motion yielding unto rest, and another world of an age eternal and unchangeable shall arise; which when he had faid (me thought) he vanished, and I all astonished did awake.

Pp 2

To



# To the Memory of the wolf Excellent Lady, JANE Countels of PERTH.

His Beauty which Pale death in dust did turn,
And glof die soon within a Coffin sad,
Did, passe like Lightning, like to Thunder burn;
So little Life, so much of Worth it Had.

Heaven's but to shew their Might here made it shine, And when admir'd, then in the World's disdain (O Tears, O Grief!) did call it back again, Lest Earth should wannt she kept what was Divine.

What can we hope for more? What more enjoy? Sith fairest Things thus soonest have their End, and, as on Bodies Shadowes do attend, Sish all out blisse is followed with Annoy?

Tet She's not dead, She lives where She did love, Her Memory on Earth, Her Soul above.

### To S. W. A.

Hough I have twice been at the Doors of Death,

And twice found shut those Gates which ever mourn,

This but a lightning is, Truce tane to Breath,

For late-born Sorrows augurre fleet return.

Amidst thy sacred Cares, and Courtly toils,
Alexis, when how shalt bear wandring Fame
Tell, Death bath triumph'd o're my mortal spoils,
And that on Earth I am but a sad Name;

If thou e're held me dear, by all our Love,

By all that Blisse, those loyes Heaven here us gave,

I conjure thee, and by the Maids of Jove,

To grave this short Remembrance on my Grave.

Here Damon lies, whose Songs did somtime grace

The murmuring Esk, may Roses shade the place.

A Cypresse Grove.

### 66:69:6668866:6688

## On the Report of the

Death of the Author.

If that were true which whi/pered is by Fame,
That Damons light no more on Earth doth burn,
His Patron Phoebus physick would disclaim,
And clothed in clouds as erst for Phaeton mourn.

Tea, Fame by this had got so deep a wound, That scarce She could have power to tell his death, Her Wings cut short; who could her Trumpet sound, Whose blaze of late was nurs'd but by his Breath.

That Spirit of his which most with wine was free, By mutual traffick enterchanging store. If chac'd from him it would have come to me, Where it so oft familiar was before.

Some secret Grief distempring first my Mind, Had (though not knowing) made me feel this losse; A Sympathy had so our Souls combind, That such a parting both at once would tose.

Though such Reports to others terrour give,
Thy Heavenly Virtnes who did never spy,
I know thou, that canst make the dead to live,
Immortal art, and needs not fear to dye.

Sir WILL. ALEXANDER.

FINIS.

